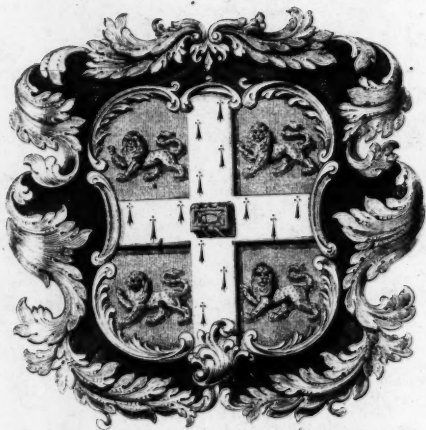


SIX
SERMONS
PREACHED in
IRELAND,
IN ~~the~~ 40. 36.
Difficult TIMES:

- I. A Temper for Loyal Joy and Grief,
on *Psal. 46. ver. 10, 11.*
- II. The Reasons and Necessity of Loyal
Devotion, on *1 Tim. 2. ver. 1, 2.*
- III. The Way to Peace and Publick Safe-
ty, on *1 Pet. 3. ver. 2.*
- IV. Religion and Loyalty inseparable,
on *1 Pet. 2. ver. 17.*
- V. Rex Regius, on *Eccles. 10. ver. 17.*
- VI. The Christian Law of the Sword,
on *St. Matth. 16. ver. 52.*

By EDWARD, Lord Bishop of
Cork and Ross.

LONDON,
Printed for William Whitwood, at the Crown
in Little-Britain, 1695.



Academiae Cantabrigiensis
Liber.

3378: 79

T O
His Grace
MICHAEL,

Lord Arch-Bishop of *Ard-
magh*, and Primate of all
Ireland, one of the Lords
Justices, and Lord High
Chancellor of the same,
&c.

May it please Your Grace,

WHen I preached the
following Sermons,
I had no thoughts of Print-
ing them. Having now
* 3 on

The Epistle

on some Reasons, resolved to print them, there is such a *Congruity of Debt* arises upon them from the Consideration of Your Graces *Station*, and their *Subject matter*, that were there no *Obligation* upon their *Author*, they ought upon their *own sole account* to be address'd to no other, within this Kingdom, but Your Graces *sacred Patronage*. They assert His Majesties *Rights*, and his *Subjects Duties*: And Your Grace here sustains and represents His Majesties *Person* in all the *most ample capacities* a Subject can do; in *Church*, in *State*, and in the *highest ordinary Judicature*.

But,

Dedicatory.

But, My Lord, I have, besides this Debt on *Them*, many *Debts* on *my Self*. I can never forget the *Entertainment* Your Grace was pleased to give me at my first *Arrival* in this Kingdom, neer fourteen Years ago, when a perfect Stranger therein; together with the sweet, but effectual, *Interpositions* of that *Authority*, which then preserved me from Ruine; And (what is much greater) the *Constancy* of Your Graces *Favour* ever since. These things all *live imprinted* upon my very *Soul*, and as they daily draw forth my most *ardent Prayers*

The Epistle

to God for Your Graces present and future Felicities, so as long as I am capable of Gratitude, they shall be *matter* of my *publick Gratitude* and *Acknowledgments*: As one *instance* whereof I beseech Your Grace to accept this *present Recognition*.

And here I could willingly have closed this Dedication; but I must now *beseech your Grace* to become my *Patron* in another sense. How of late I have been *represented*, is more known, than I could wish it were for the Representers sake. How I *deserved* it, no one better knows than Your Grace; before

Dedictory.

fore whom I had the Honour to *preach* that so much scandalized Sermon, on the *first Sunday* after Your Graces *third Reception of the Sword*: In which Sermon, if there had been any thing wherein I had made the least *disloyal Glance*, I should not doubtless have carried it away without *Animadversion* both from Your Grace, and Your Graces no less *Loyal* than *Heroical* and *Honourable Colleague*.

But I humbly conceive, that as there was no *Cause* then administred to any *ill Censure*, so it would have been no more *proper* for me *then* and in *that Audience* to
have

The Epistle

have preach'd a Sermon solely pressing Loyalty and Allegiance; than if a man should have come up amongst the Hundred and twenty assembled together at Jerusalem, fresh after our Saviours Ascension, and have set himself to persuade them to constancy in the Belief of their Lords Resurrection, when they were all of them inspirited with zeal to die for it. I chose therefore to perform the Office of preaching Loyalty and Allegiance in places and times which more required it: and at that time and place I spoke, what I thought might be of more universal Edification and Agreeableness. I herewith present

Dedicatory.

present some of the *Vouchers*, which I have of my *Fidelity* to *His Majesty*: And I humbly *pray* and *hope*, that if Your Grace should judge, I ever needed, or should need, *Testimonials* of my *Loyalty*, Your Grace would vouchsafe to represent these *where*, and *as*, occasion may serve.

God in his Mercy to the poor *Church of Ireland* long preserve Your Grace her happy *Angel*; and a *Refuge* to,

My Lord,

Cork Dec.
19. 1685.

Your Graces most
Dutiful Servant

E. Cork & Rosse.
THE

THE
Titles, Texts & Occasions
Of the Several
SERMONS.

- I. **A** Temper for Loy-
al Joy and Grief.
Text. Psalm xlvii. 10, 11.
preached on *Sunday Feb. 15.*
1684. being the day of
proclaiming His present Ma-
jesty, and the second day af-
ter

ter we had tidings of the
Death of His late Majesty
Charles the Second, of blef-
fed Memory.

**II. The Reasons and Need
of Loyal Devotion.** Text
1 Tim. ii. 1. preached on St.
Georges day April 23. 1685.
being the day of the Coro-
nation of His present Ma-
jesty.

**III. The Way to Peace and
publick Safety.** Text 1
Pet. iii. 11. preached in the
Heat of Argiles and Mon-
mouths Rebellion.

**IV. True Religion & Loy-
alty inseparable.** Text 1
Pet. ii. 17. preached in the
Heat of Monmouths Rebellion.

V.

V. *REX REGIUS.* Text Eccl. x. 17. preached Oct. 14. 1685. being celebrated at Cork as His *Majestys Birth-day.*

VI. *The Christian Law of the Sword.* Text Matth. xxvi. 52. preached Octob. 23. 1685. being by Statute an *Anniversary day of Thanksgiving in Ireland.*

THE

Ec-
14.
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Job.
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T H E

P R E F A C E,

Touching these *Sermons*, which I here publish, *Two things* there are, an account whereof I thought convenient to *preface* to them; The *Occasion of publishing them*, and their *Frame or Nature*: where, if I digress a little touching some ways of Preaching, more usual than profitable, I hope my design, of doing thereby a publick good, may plead my Excuse.

They were *preached* with a very *single Eye*, or sincere Intention of conscientious performing my Duty, and approving my self to God in my station, by doing what lay in me (at a time of exigence) to confirm the wavering, to animate the diffident, to contain, excite and advance all
in

The Preface.

in their Loyalty and firm Adhesion to His Gracious Majesty, our present alone rightful liege Lord and Sovereign. And this *End* having been, God be blessed, *happily attained* (and perhaps would have been, by other means without these Sermons, at least, I am not so vain as to think otherwise) there was therefore, for this purpose, *no need* of their *publication*; nor had they for me ever been more heard of, much less publickly seen, but that the present *Humours* and *Menage* of some, make it *necessary* for *Churchmen* not only to do their *Duty*, but to let the world know they do it, and that they *are* and *will be*, *honest*: And though I am well assured these Discourses will not only in such times as they were preached in, but ever, be *serviceable* to their *Royal Interest*, and very *beneficial* to the *Soul* & health of as many *Subjects* as will receive them, yet I will ingenuously confess, that the conceit I had of the efficacy of them to these ends, was not so great as would have prevailed with me at present to have publish'd them, but that I thought it needful, some people should hear, of both Ears, at what rate we poor *Irish Protestants* *Bishops* in the Country preach.

It happened that being at *Dublin* in the month

The Preface.

His month of *March, Ann. Dom. 1684.* where
right-with weeping *Ireland* I took my leave of
this the great and good Duke of *Ormond*, I
happily was, according as usually when there, in-
been, vited to preach before the State at *Christ-*
ns, at *Church*; and having in that short stay of
other-the few days I had made there, met with
pur-divers *Books*, some even in *English*, which
or had fell foul upon the *Holy Scriptures*, especially
d of, upon the present *Original of the Old Testa-*
e pre-ment, together with all *Translations* that
ake it closely follow it (as our *English Translation*
o them for the most part does) and observing
do it some men taking part with these Writers,
And admiring and applauding their Books, o-
our selves (some of whom should have under-
werstood better) shaken by them (so that some
to the since have declared themselves to have
e Soul been long in quest of *Scriptures*, and not-
l read withstanding all our *Divines* pretences,
, thenot yet to know where to find them) nay
them to some further to have preached against the
would Peoples having and reading *Scriptures* in
o have vulgar Languages, I thought I could not,
ght it by any one Sermon, do a more seasonable
f both service to our Church, and indeed to the
testan common Christianity, than by drawing to-
gether the sum of the more considerable
Plea's which have been brought chiefly by
in the *Spinoza, Is. Vossius, and P. Simon*, (the
month † three

The Preface.

three Chieftains whose Spittle other less people lick up and vent) against the *validity* or *integrity* of the *Books of the Old Testament*, (and consequently much *ener-vating the New*) and by shewing the *con-temptible vanity*, the *gross falsity* or *unsound-ness* of them all. This I did briefly; and have since publisht the Discourse, with an Appendix (I may say) demonstrating the most suspicious Points asserted in it. In this Discourse it could not be, except I should have been grossly partial, but that some passages must fall *justifying our esta-blish'd Church* against her adversaries of *Rome*. But the main scope and design of my Sermon was plain enough against *Antiscripturists* in general. And, of the a-forenamed Authors, whom I mainly struck at, and whose Doctrine I overthrew, one was an *Atheistical Apostate Jew*; the other a *craz'd Admirer of Greek and Philology*, (his *Religion*, if any, I may be confident is not *Roman*.) The third indeed a *pro-fest Son of Rome*, but so *Heterodox*, that (as I understood then and have yet heard nothing to the contrary) that very Church has *censured him* and his *Writings*. Now who could ever have thought that *defend-ing Scripture, and the Hebrew Text*, against such Adversaries, of whom not one man was

The Preface.

less was an Oorthodox Roman Catholick, could
have been termed *Imprudence*, *Disloyalty*,
and *fomenting Rebellion* against the King?
Yet so it was, that a certain Dignitary,
in August last, as I have been informed,
presented a Paper to a Person of Ho-
nour, wherein not only that Discourse,
and its Author, but certain *Irish Prote-*
stant Bishops indefinitely were charged as
follows.

“I cannot understand the *Policy* of
some *Irish Protestant Bishops*, during the
Heat of *Argiles* and *Monmouths* Rebel-
lion, which threatned the Ruine of their
whole Order, instead of preaching the
Christian Doctrine of Loyalty and Al-
legiance, at that time seasonable, to go
into into the Pulpit and *amuse the Peo-*
ple with apprehensions of Popery, which, how
Loyal soever their Intentions might be,
was doubtless no *Disservice to Mon-*
mouth, nor good *Service to His Majesty*,
because manifestly tending to alienate
the Affections of the Subjects. And of
these *Irish Protestant Bishops*, I hear, I
was the first named in the Margin of his
Paper.

To this Imputation Civility and good
Man-

The Preface.

three Chieftains whose Spittle other less people lick up and vent) against the *validity or integrity of the Books of the Old Testament*, (and consequently much *enervating the New*) and by *shewing the contemptible vanity, the gross falsity or unsoundness of them all*. This I did briefly; and have since publisht the Discourse, with an Appendix (I may say) demonstrating the most suspicious Points asserted in it. In this Discourse it could not be, except I should have been grossly partial, but that some passages must fall *justifying our established Church* against her adversaries of *Rome*. But the main scope and design of my Sermon was plain enough against *Antiscripturists* in general. And, of the aforementioned Authors, whom I mainly struck at, and whose Doctrine I overthrew, one was an *Atheistical Apostate Jew*; the other a *craz'd Admirer of Greek and Philology*, (his Religion, if any, I may be confident is not *Roman*.) The third indeed a *profest Son of Rome*, but so *Heterodox*, that (as I understood then and have yet heard nothing to the contrary) that very Church has censured him and his *Writings*. Now who could ever have thought that *defending Scripture, and the Hebrew Text*, against such Adversaries, of whom not one man was

The Preface.

less was an Oorthodox Roman Catholick, could have been termed *Imprudence*, *Disloyalty*, and *fomenting Rebellion* against the King? Yet so it was, that a certain Dignitary, in *August* last, as I have been informed, presented a Paper to a Person of Honour, wherein not only that Discourse, and its Author, but certain *Irish Protestant Bishops* indefinitely were charged as follows.

“I cannot understand the Policy of some *Irish Protestant Bishops*, during the Heat of *Argiles* and *Monmouths* Rebellion, which threatned the Ruine of their whole Order, instead of preaching the Christian Doctrine of Loyalty and Allegiance, at that time seasonable, to go into into the Pulpit and amuse the People with apprehensions of Popery, which, how Loyal soever their Intentions might be, was doubtless no *Disservice* to *Monmouth*, nor good Service to *His Majesty*, because manifestly tending to alienate the Affections of the Subjects. And of these *Irish Protestant Bishops*, I hear, I was the first named in the Margin of his Paper.

To this Imputation Civility and good
† 2 Man-

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Manners will not suffer me to return the Language it deserves: but in short as to the *truth of matter of fact*; If the Bishop of *Cork* did not in that season preach up Loyalty and Obedience with all his might (and possibly more, than any one man Papist or Protestant, within the Kingdom) or if either at that time, or any else, he did ever preach, what may be justly termed the amusing the people with apprehensions of Popery, the said Bishop offered himself to the severest Animadversions imaginable. To the point then: If the *London Gazette*s may be credited, *Argile* landed at *Complestown* in the Highlands of Scotland *May 20. Ann. Dom. 1685.* and sent out his Treasonable Summons *May 21* (which day news came of his arrival at *Dunluce* in the North of Ireland) and on *June 21. ensuing*, he was brought in Prisoner to *Edenburgh*. So that the Heat of his Rebellion must fall between *May 20. and June 21. 1685.* Further,

Monmouth landed at *Lyme* in the Evening *June 11.* and was routed *July 6.* betwixt which days must also fall the Heat of his Rebellion. My Sermon at *Christ Church Dublin*, which was the only one that Gentleman heard of me about that time

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time, and which certainly he aimed at, was preached *March 22. 1684.* that is *two full months* not only before the *Heat of Argiles Rebellion*, but before any, except Traytors, knew of it; and *three months*, within three days, before the *Heat* or commencing of *Monmouths Rebellion*, or any saving the Rebels Traiterous Accomplices knew of that. Therefore this Gentleman was *fouly* out in regard of *time*: and the *main point* in his Acculation, which will fix Imprudence or Disloyalty upon me, being the *timing my Sermon*, the whole Accusation must on this score fall. For how could I by that Sermon, preached at that time, be serviceable to *Monmouth* in the time of his Rebellion, and disserviceable to the King, when the times fell at such distance, and his Rebellion was not in being, or thought of? By what account will *March the 22.* be made the middle of *June*? I am sure, if I had in the least sowed any Seeds of Rebellion, there were above an hundred wiser, and loyaller and greater men, than the Accuser in that Audience, from whom I should both have heard of it and felt it.

But waving this *Answer* from the *Time*, which yet that Gentleman can never ge
† 3 over,

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over, *was it all true*, that that Discourse did tend to *amuse the minds of men with the apprehensions of Popery*? If I understand English, to amuse the minds of men with the apprehensions of Popery, is to *possess them with fears that Popery will be introduced or imposed upon them*. Now let me be dealt justly with, and let not men be false to their own Sense in this point also. Was there in that Discourse any one word pointing at or meddling with Designs of State or Statists? Is the *modest and peaceable endeavouring to settle the Grounds of our common Christianity*, and to confirm to mens Reason and Judgments the *Divine Authority of Holy Scripture*, against the Wiles or Bravadoes of men who *oppugn the Doctrine* not only of our own, but of the very *Roman Church*; is this, I say, *possessing the people with fears*, that the Government intends to establish Popery? If it be said, some parts of your Sermon were levell'd against certain Doctrines of the Papists, as well as against the Tenets and Arguments of those men named, I do not deny it: but those parts tended only by strength of Argument, and without any one virulent expression, to confute those Doctrines, or prove them to be none of the genuine Christianity: Now certainly

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Discourf y a man may endeavour to difprove a
with th thing, which he does not at all think of
erftand perfuading men the Government has a
en with defign to impofe upon them. At this
o poffeff rate, I might have been as juftly taxt of
roduced poffeffing the people the Government had
e dealt a defign of bringing in and impofing *Infidelity*
o their or *Irreligion*, becaufe I faid what I
here in could pertinently to overthrow both *Infidelity*
ing at and *Irreligion*. So that, had the
or Sta time taken been fo far right, as that it
endea would have grounded any fufpicion of me,
ommon yet had this Imputation been (otherwife)
Reason in it felf moft unjuft and unreafonable.
rity of But what fhews the Gentlemans Difinge-
r Bra nuity to the height, and renders his Mis-
ctrine representations of me and my Sermon
y Ro moft inexcufable is, that in this very Ser-
g the mon, which he loads with fo unjuft Afper-
nt in fions, I having occafion to produce that
e faid Text, *Prov. 16. 10. where Solomon tells*
vell'd us, *A Divine Sentence is in the Lips of the*
oifts, *King, his Mouth tranfgreffeth not in Judg-*
Argu-*ment* : afferted and maintained there
t de (though as my Difcourfe would fuffer me,
y by only *in tranfitu*) the *Kings Supremacy*, and
any the *Doctrine of Non-refiftance* it felf; af-
chofe firming that, "No perfons of our Church
e of "ever thought of an Appeal from a Roy-
tain-*al Decree*, or in any cafe, of *Refiftance*

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“ to the Royal Authority. Whether this *Doctrin* in its own nature were doubtless *no* a *Disservice* to such as Monmouth, nor any *good Service* to His Majesty, let the world judge.

Having thus far *vindicated* and avowed what indeed *was not preached* in the times of *Argiles* or *Monmouths Rebellion*; nor, as God knows, when either could be so much as thought of by me (who meddled not with, nor have insight into or foresight of Affairs of State) may it be on this occasion lawful for me, to let the world know, *what and how, where and how instantly* I did then preach; where also and how I spent my time, in the very heat of both those *Rebellions*: I was not therefore neither all nor any of that time, not within an hundred miles of my Charge, idling away good hours, hunting after *Preferments*, fawning and scraping, studying little *Cavils* at the *Doctrines* of my Mother Church to ingratiate my self with her Adversaries, nor calumniating my Brethren; but upon *Week-days* I was at home, daily either in my Closet, Chappel, or the Cathedral Church of my Diocess, or in all successively, *praying for the Success* of his *Majestys Arms*: and on *Sundays*, besides the *Office of Prayer*, I was, without inter-

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per this permission of one, *employed* either in the
cathedral or in other more populous Con-
gregations in the neighbouring City, or in
the several populous Towns of my Dio-
ces, *riding up and down* from place to
place, as I thought my presence or *preach-*
ing, as I thought my Doctrine, my Ex-
hortation, my Example or my Interest
might do good and serve my King. In a
word, I did what in me lay to keep the
Countrey Loyal; I left no stone unmov-
ed, whereby I thought I might strengthen
or assist the Kings Cause, as my whole
Diocess will witness. Here are some of my
Sermons; diverse of them, as mentioned,
preached more than once; but here are
not half. For I have not such an opini-
on of my self, or of what I do, as to load
the Press, or glut the World with my
Labours: yet if I had in the first *nine*
months of our present Sovereigns *Reign*,
come up into the Pulpit, as my good Friend
phrases it, no oftner in His Majesties be-
half, than, by the following Papers, it
appears I did, I had in that space *nine*
times, in the largest Congregations of the
Countrey, appeared for him. But I might
have above *doubled the number*: For of
five Sermons preached within that time at
Bandon, here are but *two*: of *two* at *Kin-*
sale,

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sale, here is but *one* : of *more* than I will speak of, lest I should be deemed ostentatious, at *Cork*, the place of my more constant residence, here are comparatively very few. I pray God, they who have styled me disserviceable to His Majesty may themselves be more serviceable.

Further ; After all this, I may with the greatest truth avow *these* not to be my *first* endeavours of any sort, to serve our present most Gracious Sovereign. When in some of the *late Parliaments* the *Jebu's* of the *Faction* drove on furiously, and nothing would serve them but a *Bill of Exclusion*, the *English Bishops*, who there (with many of the renowned Nobility and Gentry) loyally stemm'd the torrent in its proudest strength, and were by the Faction styled Papists for their pains, had amongst others of more ability and interest elsewhere, an *unworthy Brother in this City*, who defended their Votes, and His present Majesty in the same person a poor Servant, who asserted his undoubted Rights and most just Title, both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press*. Nor only so, but in *ordinary publick Meetings* of the Gentry, or in *common Conversation* with others, if at that time I chanced to perceive any, who through
meer

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I will neerer Error of Judgment, or want of due information, seemed to approve of the Exclusion-design, what Diligence and Zeal I used to *convince* such persons of the *Iniquity and scandalous Injustice* of the thing, there are many can testifie; and the Effect of such Discourses I will not speak of: So far have I ever been from disserving His present Majesty. God of his mercy in Christ Jesus forgive me all my other Sins of Omission: as to the witting neglect of any Act or Office, by which I could serve His Majesty, I can, upon the strictest examination of Conscience, sacredly profess I cannot deprehend in my self any one the least instance.

But it is perhaps the sense of more judicious persons than my self, that, in the business of Loyalty, some men at present have taken very wrong measures. We of the *Church of England* avow and protest we *will be Loyal*, should we be put in never such circumstances; yea even in the worst circumstances, wherein any Adversaries we have could wish us. It is and ever has been our Doctrine, it is and ever has been our Practice to be Loyal absolutely and without exception. And we can challenge the world to shew any instance of us to the contrary. Wherefore we are

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are amazed to hear our selves charged
Disloyalty for being firm in the Religion
of that Church which much more faithfully
asserts the Rights of the Sovereign, and
more inviolably in all her members, pay
them, than any Church on Earth. And
we appeal in this case from the incompetent
Judgment of our partial Fellow-Subjects
to the Sentence of our Just and together
most Wise and Gracious Sovereign.
I know, said he in his Royal Declaration of
his Mind to his Privy Council, *the Principles of the Church of England are for Monarchy, and the Members of it have shewed themselves Good and Loyal Subjects.* Now
should all the world go about to persuade
us, that these words were only Complement,
we must beg the Excuse of such unadvised
multitudes: we are no less confident of the
Sincerity and Veracity of this great Judge,
than of the Justice of his Sentence. In other
terms, as *our Lord the King is wise, according to the Wisdom of an
Angel of God, to know all things that are be-
fore him*; so we believe he spoke herein with
the Sanctity of an Angel, and no less ac-
cording to the Sense of his Royal Heart,
than according to the Truth of the thing.
Wherefore undoubtedly, let some men
think or say what they please, he does not
estimate

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estimate his Subjects Loyalty by a warped Conscience, or versatil humour in Religion. No good or wise man, Much less Prince, can in his heart approve either Credulity and Rashness in believing, or Instability in what is once on sober grounds believed. There is nothing more odious to a person of any sense of Worth or Honour, than a readiness to change a mans Perswasion, because he apprehends it may turn to his Rise or secular Advantage. To be free and open, and use that *Parrhesy* which *Honesty* and *Uprightness* ever may: I took not up my Religion from the Placits of Man, but from the holy Scriptures of eternal Truth, delivered to the world by inspired men, and faithfully transmitted to us by Gods holy Church; which Scriptures I have been instructed in from a Child, and have read over diverse times upon my knees before God, as well as otherwise, with all the care I could. I have thence learnt amongst other parts of my Duty, *my Duty to God*, and *my Duty to my King*; and if any man catch me wittingly and deliberately tripping in either, I decline no Censure nor Punishment. But I am almost daily told, by men (whose Insolence, I believe, His Majesty if he understood would little

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little approve) that my King is not of my Religion. I still answer thereto, I cannot tell, nor am I busie to enquire: but I bless God, and *night and day* pray to him to bless our Gracious King, for that Liberty, Protection and Encouragement, which we Protestants of the establisht Church enjoy in our Religion, under his sweet, wise & happy Government. And as to His Majesties Religion, I say, he is no more accountable to his Subjects for that, than he is for his Crown; nor may they any more censure, than prescribe to him therein. All that concerns them, is to pray God would guide him, and inspire with all Christian Temper and Counsel those, to whom under God he commits the Guidance of his Conscience. And having said thus much, I will only add,

As to my Religion from henceforth let no man trouble me. For ought I know, I profess the Religion the King would have me. For if I should profess my self of any other, I should dissemble, and that I believe His Majesty, with reverence be it spoken, would no more approve in me or any man else, than God does.

I have thus said what I had to say of the Occasion of publishing these Sermons: It remains to the full discharging my Promise, that I say a few things of their frame or make. They

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They consist not then of any profound, curious or refined Notions; nor is their Style accurate or correct: But they are what I apprehend Sermons ought to be, plain, honest and strong: I mean their Language is simple, natural, and such generally which is soon understood as heard. Their Matter nothing, but what in the Subjects handled is the sum of our certain Christianity. And the Reasonings used in them, I hope, such as may convince.

There is at present a great complaint amongst the Book-sellers, that there is nothing so dully as Sermons: And yet I remember my Lord Verulam somewhere says, in commendation of the English Preaching, that if Preambles, Transitions, and passages which are purely matter of form, with some such like particulars were taken out, and the substance of our English Sermons extant collected into one Book, it would certainly be one of the best Books in the world; or words to this purpose. Now what is the reason of the former complaint? 'Tis certain Sermons were no such Drugs in his days. Has there then befallen any universal Degeneracy amongst us, since his time, which has altered the case? None certainly universal: for there have been better Sermons by far published since the death of that great Judge (for

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(for such he was in all kinds of Learning than any I know before: and particularly those of the (before at least) matchless Bishop *Sanderfon*. And there are at this time in present being, a great number of as excellent Preachers, both in the City of *London* and disperst through the Kingdom of *England*, as most we can find to have lived since the Apostles days; many of whose Sermons are in print: But the truth of the matter is this.

In the late days of the *Liberty of Prophecy*, when every one took on him the honour not only of the *Priesthood*, but even of *Apostleship* that would, and a bold pretence to *Grace & Inspiration* was enough to qualify any man for the *Pulpit*, there came forth such a swarm of putrid and nonsensical, as well as too often unchristian Abortions of *Preachments*, that mens stomachs then in a fortu'n'd, many begun to abhor and ridicule the *Word of God*, and even the most sober sort could not but loath such vile *Entertainments*. Of this kind were all the *Millenary* and generally all the *Antinomian* Rabble of *Preachers*, with more, who followed the *Parliament Camp*, whom I will not name. Another sort there were who had some kind of learning, and seem'd at first hearing, to have something of soundness in them, but in process

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cess, all the *Divinity* you should find in their *Sermons* was pickt out of *little Systems* and *Annotators* (beyond which very few of the men of those days ever went; *Henderson* himself confessing to Arch-Bishop *Usher* he had never read the *Fathers*) and lay all in some *Geneva-opinions* fervilely taken up, a few *terms of Art* and *Notions* ill applied, (possibly not half digested or understood) and in words and phrases of uncertain significations; a vein of *Canting* running thro' the whole. Of these *two kinds* were, I believe *one tenth* part of the *Sermons* preached and printed for neer twenty years together from the beginning of our late unhappy *Civil Wars* in *England*:

But, God be blessed, though such preaching was general, yet was it not universal. There were all along these times a *secret* stock of profoundly learned *Divines* & excellent *Preachers*, (compel'd to be *too secret* God knows) the remains of the old scattered Church, and the Seed of our restored & present establish'd Church of *England*. Arch-Bishop *Usher*, Doctor (afterwards Bishop) *Saunderson*, Bishop, and after the Restoration, Arch-Bishop, *Bramhall*, Bp. *Brownrig*, Dr. *Hammond*, Doctors and Bishops *Jeremy Taylor*, *John Pierston*, with many others; these mens *Sermons* (and many of
A their

The Preface.

their Discourses, which though not printed Sermon-wise, yet were divers of them first delivered in Sermons before ever printed in the form we have them) no one I hope will account Drugs, cast by, or not think to deserve a very good place in his Study. *Besides these* great persons of the *first rate*, it cannot be denied, but that there were in *both Universities*, even for 7 or 8 years before His Majesties happy Restauration, some *choice men* of admirable parts and improvements, who, as they had wonderfully retrieved Learning there in all its parts & kinds, so when they came out after into the world, soon advanced Preaching to that degree of perfection, which I know not whether ever before it so universally attained. I could name many of them, some now dead, others still living, but possibly it is yet too early: however I must say of the Sermons of these men (though for the present nameless) what I did of theirs of the former rank, I do not believe but they will ever be valued by all persons who have either a sense of Religion or tincture of Learning as long as the world stands.

But these *great and admirable precedents* had *not* been, during the rage of the Rebellion and Schism, nor at the expiration of it were they, of force or prevalence sufficient,

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to keep out a third sort of faulty or unprofitable Preaching, which begun to creep in presently upon his Majesties Restauration. For as it usually comes to pass, that from one extreme men run into another, so about that time the whole Order almost of such, who were then, as I may call them, *Inceptors in Preaching*, hearing the common *Systems* by judicious persons *decried* (and not unjustly, for that thereby all other Divinity in a manner, save only a few *modern Commentaries or Controversies of the times* was justled out of doors) and being by *politer Studies* prejudiced against both those *unsavory strains* of Preaching beforementioned, these young Gentlemen made up *pretty little moral Discourses* (I wish I could justly give that character to all the *Essays* I have heard & read of such mens: sometimes there's too much indiscreet invective, too much puerility or boyish imitation to deserve the name) made up, I say, *Discourses, with little or no Divinity*, but all the flashes of Wit and flowers of Rhetorick they could in them; or if a Text of Scripture now and then by chance came in, it was rather by way of allusion, mistaken in its superficial sense, than matterly applied according to its true intent and purport: which barrenness of fit matter hence came to pass; They having not

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read the Ancients, and digested Christian Doctrine as delivered by them (a business that requires long time and a large measure of preliminary Learning to qualify a man for it) and having *learnt to despise* and scoff at, without distinction, *all systematical Divinity*, it is plain they could have no Divinity, but what they had confusedly and at random chanced to take in by the by, in the course of their Education. This poor pittance they dressed up in choice words, gay allusions, and what other trimming their knowledge in History, their reading in Classick Authors, and the course of Philosophy they had gone through, would furnish them with, and a little above half an hours Discourse of this nature they called a Sermon: Hereof also a multitude have fated the world, and I wish we did not hear too many of them, to this day, from the Pulpit.

Of the *florid Preachers* a second sort there was, and still is, more judicious persons, men well studied in *Arts, Sciences* and all *Humanity* (it were to be wished equally skilled in Divinity) who yet labouring under the same *'Αἰσῶς* with the former, *immoderately affect a neat and correct Style*, and generally cannot descend to speak plain and easie Truths or Practicals, seem to study that

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that their Discourses may only hang in the ears and fancies of their Hearers, not at all touch their hearts; as if to deal with Conscience, and work in men a sense of Sin or of Duty, and concerns for their future estate, belonged only to Enthusiasts and Fanaticks. I must confess I am ignorant what good either of these kinds of Sermons, (I mean, the *Flanting and Romantick*, or the *spruce and curious*) do, either from the Pulpit or Press? and I could instance in a great deal of evil they do, especially from the former (for the later it may be they only clog). The Poet design'd *Et prodesse & delectare*; but these kind of *artificial* Preachers forget usually the former, which is the chief and worthier part, and their best Sermons are too commonly but pretty sacred divertisements, I will not say, laborious toys;

— *Versus inopes rerum, nugaeque canora.*

Generally there is *no one thing* of moment driven on, *no main point* of *Christian Doctrine* or *Practice* opened, proved or perswaded, through the whole Discourse: I will be bound to produce some such Sermons as these, every line of which a man shall read over with singular delight; and I will for-

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feit a good wager, that at the end an ordinary judicious and attentive Reader shall not be able to repeat any one entire Sentence, or give an account of any substantial point he has learnt. So that one would truly wonder, how such learned men should be able to speak so long, so curiously, and so seemingly all to the purpose, and yet in the end to no purpose at all: 'Tis but *Read my Riddle what's that?* some neat expressions, or pretty flights of fancy, may stick for an hour, or day, or two, but *no man's* a jot wiser, or better for all that's said.

These, and some other too commonly *pleasing evils* (of which, God blessing me, I will some time or other speak more largely, and as far as I can more perspicuously and elenchitically, for many Preachers need it) I will not say, I was *never guilty* of myself; at least not of *some of them*, and in some Sermons; but I can say, I have long studied and endeavoured conscientiously to avoid; and now perhaps through study (particularly) of plainness, may be not unjustly thought to have run into a contrary extreme, that of a poor jejune and trivial way: yet I have the great Apostles practice herein to plead in the behalf of what I have endeavoured. 1 Cor. xiv. 19. *In the Church I had rather speak five words with my understanding*

The Preface.

understanding (that is, with being understood) *that I might teach others, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue*; and an artificial, florid, or affectedly lofty stile, is, to the common people, ever such, be it in what language it shall. I may without vanity say in *each* of these *Sermons*, there is *substance*; there is at least some *one necessary* or *profitable design* carried on (how far attained, or perfected, I leave the Reader to judge:) And as to *Style*, though all be *humble* enough, yet nothing I hope so *for- didly plain*, as to be *nauseous* or *unfavorable*. Some people may be pleased to think *I could have raised the Character of Speech*, if I had pleased; but in such case I should have thought my self thereby the *more unprofitable*: However whether I could, or whether I could not, it signifies not a far-thing as to doing service in the Church of God, nor as to my own satisfaction; possibly neither, as to the thoughts wise and good men will have of me.

I *value* not my self the *more*, because, I think, I *know how to put on Buskins*; and no man of judgment will value me the less, because, either for *ease* to my self, or that I might be more *readily serviceable* to the *generality* of men, I thought good to go *without them*. Preachers ought to consult the *Ca-*

The Preface.

capacity of the most, and that I am sure is of the unlearned. This being conscious to my self that I have done, I will add very little more to justifie my plain *Preaching*; it is in fashion, or it ought to be.

The Character of the Preachers Sermon (saith Divine Mr. Herbert) is *Holiness*. He is not witty, or learned, or eloquent, but holy. He spoke of what the Preacher ought to study. And if this way to any seem too low for, or beneath, their Parts and Accomplishments, let such remember that of *Seneca*; *Cujuscunque Orationem vides politam & sollicitam, scito animum in pusillis occupatum*. 'Tis not such kind of speaking is low, but their minds are little who think so.

A
T E M P E R
F O R

Loyal Joy and Grief.

Delivered in a

S E R M O N

Preached in a

*Great Assembly of the Nobility,
Gentry and Citizens of Cork.*

U P O N

Sunday Feb. 15. An.Dom. 1684;

Being the

Day of Proclaiming

His present Majesty *James II.*
King of Great Britain, &c.
in the City of Cork.

By *Edward Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross.*

*Dublin, Printed by A. Crook and S. Helsham,
for William Norman, Samuel Helsham and
Eliphal Dobson Booksellers. 1686.*

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Touching the following

S E R M O N.

T*His Sermon it was reported (and I have reason to think believed) by the People, that I preached purely ex tempore: partly because I could use no Notes, partly because it was generally known I spoke therein divers things, which I could not have notice of, till I was taking Horse to attend my Duty at the Proclaiming of His Majesty. But whatsoever Imaginations, persons who are governed chiefly by Imagination, may have of any Promptitude of speaking I have got, I assure all the world, I am either Dull enough, or Religious enough, or (which is a Quality, that*
of

of all the three, I am least guilty of
Wise enough, not to venture into the
Pulpit, especially on such an occasion,
and before such an Audience, as this
Sermon had, without considerable pre-
meditation. I therefore think fit to ac-
quaint all Readers, (and by them all
who were my Hearers that know it not
already) that however new and sud-
den this Sermon was to them, before
I came out of my Closet that morning,
the Body of it was maturely digested
in my own thoughts, and not then the
first time. For it was delivered, though
in a little diverse and larger form, be-
fore the State at Christchurch Dublin,
Dec. 22. 1678. and once afterwards in
a more ordinary Congregation. And
being a Discourse much suitable to my
own Temper (I speak still of the Body
of it) it was tolerably fresh in my me-
mory, and easily accommodable to
such particular Emergents as that day
yielded. When therefore early in the
morning I was raised by the Noise of
Drums and Trumpets, and by my Ser-
vants,

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vants, begun to understand, in a confused manner, the Business of the Day, I immediately fell to consider what was my Duty therein; and the surprisal permitted not better provision.

The same Noise which awakened me soon drew together into the City a great multitude out of the adjacent Country: And some of the Nobility at a distance having received Expresses in the night, were early with us, and the Town very full. I never saw in my life, and trust I shall never see again, so vast a number of people in such a medly of Passions. They were come together on a business that required Joy, and rejoyce they did: yet their Love to their late Gracious King (whose Decease they had heard of but the day before, some of them not till that day) was so tender, that most could not forbear Parentheses of weeping: and some other Passions it was plain lay under these, even in the far greatest number of the People.

I could not but observe the variety of the symptoms as I passed through the crowd,

crowd, and all along as I rode; and my business was to model my Preparations as near as I could to the publick Occasion and Temper. I think I may say there was not any Addition or Alteration to the Thoughts I brought out with me, (no not a Transition) which was not forethought when I came into the Pulpit. But I cannot deny that I was my self a little transported into the like Tenderness and Fluctuation of Affection, which I saw in others. So that I may truly say, the Sermon has lost by being writ in a more sedate Temper, than that wherein it was delivered. For though there is nothing printed, but what was then spoke, yet I am sure, some things circumstantial escaped my memory; and of those which did not, many were spoke in a brisker way, and what would be more acceptable to most Loyallists, than this wherein they are now to be read.

The Importunity of many, much affected with (the Occasion, I suppose, rather than) the Sermon (or both together

gether) and especially of the Countess Dowager of Insiquin, caused me straightway to put together my Sermon in Writing, as it was then preached; which was not then very difficult, considering what I had writ before, and how fresh all the rest was in my thoughts. By that Copy, then writ, this is printed: And I dare appeal to all those Persons of Honour and of Judgment (of which there were not a few my Auditors) whether this be not the same Sermon, not only for Substance, but as to Expression too, in all remarkable passages; as far at least as it is possible for a man not reading what he speaks to deliver the same thing twice in the same numerical words.

The Design of the Sermon is sufficiently intimated by the Title. If it be not, 'tis only a Christian Calm, and that I am sure we then needed. And nothing more contributed thereto than the Account of what His Majesty said at his first coming to Council, which being put into my hand just as I took Horse,

*Horse, I brought in for the main into
the Proeme of my Sermon ; I hope not
unsuccessfully, as to the Affections it
gained His Majesty in the Peoples
hearts, which it after a sort to a mi-
racle erected, and made the Joy of that
day with us all much the greater. God
continue it both to His Majesty and
People.*

A
T E M P E R
F O R

Loyal Joy and Grief.

Delivered in a *Sermon*, preached upon
Sunday Feb. 15. *An. Dom.* 1684. being
the Day of Proclaiming His present
Majesty, James the Second, King of
Great Britain, &c. in the City of Cork.

The Text, *Psal.* xlv. v. 10, 11.

Be still, and know that I am God: I will be
exalted amongst the Heathen; I will be
exalted in the Earth.

The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Ja-
cob is our Refuge. Selah.

A
T Here is nothing, that could have
mitigated, or rendred so much
as tolerable, that Grief, which
we had conceived, and with which we
are still affected, for the Loss of our
B late

late Most Gracious Sovereign, but the quiet and peaceable Succession of his Brother, our present Sovereign, to the Crown. We cannot indeed but still retain a tender sense of so great a Loss; and, whether we will or no, intermix Sighs with our Acclamations, and drop Tears amidst our Joys. There appears most evidently, do what we can, a strange conflict of Affections in the most of us; not unlike to that which was in those Priests and Levites, when the Foundations of the new Temple were laying; *some, remembering the first Temple, wept with a loud voice, and others shouted for joy, that they were now founding a second; so that the noise of the shout of joy could scarce be discerned from the noise of them that wept.* Ezr. iii. 12, 13. We may not dissemble it, some such odd disorders we are in.

Yet when we consider, that, notwithstanding all our fears, and others malice, *James the Second*, the Dear and Faithful Brother of *Charles the Second* of blessed memory, the Son of *Charles the First*, that glorious Martyr for his Religion and the Laws, the Grandson of the great and happy King, *James the First*, in whom the three Crowns were happily united, *has succeeded*, and that without any Stir,

Tumults

Loyal Joy and Grief. 3

tumults or Blood-shed, but with the greatest *Peace* and *Ease* imaginable, unto the Throne of his Royal Father (and may he long hold it so, may these days of Peace long continue to Him and us) when we consider this, I say, we ought to cheer our selves, and endeavour the temperating our Grievs, and composing our Minds.

Further, when we add to the former consideration, that his *present Majesty* has graciously declared to the world, and given his *Royal Word* that he will govern according to the *Laws established*; that *He* will maintain our Religion and the Government of Church and State, as they now stand; that he will imitate his blessed Brother, and most especially in his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People; and that as he hath often heretofore ventur'd his Life in Defence of the Nation, so he will still do his utmost to preserve us in our just Rights and Liberties, of all which we have this day a full and publick assurance: When we add this, I say, we ought to banish Grief from our hearts, in our Souls to rejoyce, to fall down before God and bless him, concluding we have *Chartes the Second* still, after a sort, alive and entire in *James the Second*, whom God long preserve.

Yet because it is impossible on a suddain to rid the world of Fears, Jealousies, and the like uneasie Affections; because also there are to be found abroad, though I hope not amongst us, many unquiet and tumultuous Spirits, who delight in Troubles, and would fain be embroyling all again; because also what I have said may not haply be by all believed, or my self be deemed too credulous, it may not be amiss or unseasonable to entertain you upon occasion of this Solemnity with some thoughts on this calming passage of the Royal Psalmist. *Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted amongst the Heavens; I will be exalted in the Earth.*

In what particular *Crisis* of the Jewish affairs, or on what occasion this Psalm was first penned, I have not found any so bold as peremptorily to ascertain. By the Inscription of it, it is directed to the Sons of *Corah*, those famous Masters of Musick, when the Jewish Choir was in its most flourishing state; and so probably composed about *Solomons* Succession to the Throne. Sure it is by its Contents, its true date must be in very perillous, or esse in tumultuous times. Such Days and Affairs all those high expressions in it do most certainly import; and the Affections,

that

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that the holy Penman professes, bespeak no less. *ver. 1, 2, 3. God is our Refuge and Strength (sings he) a very present help in time of trouble. Therefore will we not fear though the Earth be moved, and though the Mountains be cast into the midst of the Sea. Though the Waters thereof roar and be troubled, though the Mountains shake with the swelling thereof.* The removing of the Earth, the roaring of Sea and Waters, the shaking of the Mountains, and their being thrown into the midst of the Sea, are all but lofty Poetical ways of speaking, design'd to express great Commotions in the State, the unsettling or removing Foundations of Government. All which when he had thus nobly sung, he falls not in the other part, but sweetly proceeds, *There is a River, the streams whereof make glad the City of our God, the holy places of the Tabernacles of the most High.* Jerusalem had not the advantage of any such mighty River as are those, which have made great and wealthy divers Cities: But there was the Brook *Kidron*, which as 'tis described, above Jerusalem Eastward, imparted a clear and gentle Stream for the watering of the lower City; And there were besides the *Waters of Siloah*, which, augmented by a

small Stream from the Fountain *Gihon*,
 passed *softly* (*Isai. viii. 6.*) into *Sion*, and
 in a manner close up to the foot of the
 Temple. To which soever of these two
 our Royal Poet alludes, either of them
 aptly resembles those secret and soft Re-
 freshments, which at all times relieve and
 bear up the Spirits of the true *Israel*.
 They have not ever perhaps an irresist-
 ible Torrent of all the worldly Power,
 Security and Interests, that some could
 wish, running strongly for them; but in
 their most forlorn circumstances that their
 enemies can imagine them in, they have
 easie, secret and spiritual Comforts, in a
 way of humble affiance in God. and com-
 mitting themselves and their affairs to his
 Gracious Conduct. And sometimes, when
 God thinks good in his Providence to ap-
 pear for them more visibly (as he has of
 old; and more lately in a glorious sort for
 our establish'd Church) the Emanations
 of his Power, Wisdom and Goodness are
 in no cases more conspicuous than in
 their Protection. *God is in the midst of*
her, she shall not be removed; God shall help
her, and that right early. ver. 5. This he
 avows (and that more loftily than any
 thing hitherto, if possible: This, I say,
 he avows) v. 6. ever has, does, and will
 appear,

Loyal Joy and Grief. 7

appear, maugre all the Rage of some, and the Combinations of other Enemies. *Let the Heathen rage, and the Kingdoms be moved, 'tis but Gods uttering his Voice, and the Earth melts away.* And now why should his Church at any time droop in Spirit, or be dejected? *This Lord of Hosts is with us, this God of Jacob is our Refuge:* to which he puts a *Selah*, that is, *sing* this Strain in your highest and fullest Musick: Let the Earth ring of it. And having thus far proceeded, our sacred Authors Breast was now full enough of God, to publish a kind of Summons or Challenge to the whole world, to behold or consider the mighty Acts of Gods particular Providence in behalf of his Church. *Come and behold the Works of the Lord, what Desolations he hath made in the Earth.* ver. 8. In the days of *David*, God smote down before his Anointed all the Enemies of *Israel* round about them. Which being done, towards, or in, the days of *Solomon*, he crowned the foregoing Victories and Deliverances with a deep Peace, ver. 9. *He maketh Wars to cease unto the ends of the Earth; he breaketh the Bow, and knappeth the Spear asunder, and burneth the Chariot in the fire.* But such deep Peace, as I conceive not yet in perfect being at

the penning of this *Psalms*, (which, I say, by the whole tenor of it, manifestly be- speaks it self to have been writ in tottering or turbulent times): only to assure the faithful, that it was at hand, and infallibly future, the holy Psalmist sings it as already accomplisht; an usual Scheme with the Prophets! Mean while, to still and aw all sorts, he (yet again in his wonderful Character of Speech, and like the greatest Artist) brings in God himself controlling the Inhabitants of the Earth in the Text; *Be still, and know that I am God: I will be exalted amongst the Heathen; I will be exalted in the Earth.* Words indifferently applicable, either to the *Turbulent* and *Enemies of the Church*, and of *Dauids Kingdom*; (as if he had said, Desist from your fruitless Combinations, and malicious Contrivances: *Know that I am God*): or to the *faithful* and firm *Adherents of David*, who, inclining to diffidence and fears of the worst, might be in impatient hurries, and uncertain Counsels. And if thus taken, the Sense is, *Be still*, quiet your selves, patiently in Humility, Faith and Sobriety await the issue. *Know that I am God*, and in my good time I will both glorifie my self, and settle you. To which, as in a full *Chorus*, the Faith of the

Loyal Joy and Grief. 9

the Church answers, *The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our Refuge.* Selah. That is, most probably as before said, a Note for the highest Musick.

Because I cannot presume any number of our Kings or Churches Enemies here present, and besides, for that it is an ungrateful thing, on this good day, to take the words in their worst acceptation, I shall chiefly insist on them as directed to the Church, and to faithful and loyal Subjects. And to them, First they prescribe a Duty very seasonable, prudent and Christian, in apprehensions of uncertain or in uncertain or unsettled affairs, namely, an *holy Quiet* of mind, *Be still.*

Secondly, they inforce this Duty, and that by three Principles or main points of Religious Doctrine. The first of which is the general and sovereign Power of God, insinuated in those words, *Know that I am God.* I made, I rule the World.

The second, his particular Superintendency, and directing all affairs to his own Glory, in the next words, *I will be exalted amongst the Heathen; I will be exalted on the Earth.*

The third, his Constancy and eternal Fidelity to his Church, acknowledged and depended upon by them. *The Lord of Hosts*

Hosts is with us ; the God of Jacob is our Refuge.

I begin with the Duty enjoyned, an holy Quiet, *Be still*. That there is nothing in this world firm or stable ; that as poor men die from their Cottages, and greater persons from their Houses, which they have called by their own Names, so even Princes from the Throne, alas ! I need not insist. Only when these last leave the Stage, as it is in great Buildings, when Pillars fall, there is, at least, a dreadful Concussion of the whole Fabrick : so in the Frame of State ; when a King dies, especially a Great one, a Gracious one, a Beloved one, however most happily, as well as speedily and most seasonably, succeeded, I cannot but believe (and I hope it will be esteemed no fault to profess plainly that I do believe) the Loyallest hearts amongst us all really tremble: not that we distrust God or our Prince, but we fear the Malice of the Enemy. Wherefore being we must acknowledge the publick Amusement, not to say Consternation, not yet to be quite over, it cannot be amiss to press, what the Text in such shaking junctures enjoyns, (which I have named) an holy Quiet : and I dare say it will contribute much to the Ease of all their Hearts,

Loyal Joy and Grief. 11

is of Hearts, who will practice it.

Now such *Quiet* will consist (1.) In *Patience*; excluding all Repining, all Complaints and Murmuring. (2.) In *Faith* and humble Deference to God; excluding all Despondency and Pusillanimity. (3.) In *Sobriety, Peaceableness* and observance of *Order*; excluding Temerity, Faction and Privy Combinations upon any pretences of publick Jealousies and Dangers. Permit, I beseech you, a word on each very briefly, and, I hope, very modestly.

And first, as to the *Quiet of Patience*, which, I say, excludes all Repining, all Murmuring, all fruitless accusing of things and persons. Our Loss is indeed very great, and very fresh; it being not yet forty hours since, I think I may say, most of us had intelligence of it. But blessed be the same *Hand* that takes and together gives. *Heaviness may endure for a night, but Joy cometh in the morning.* Let us therefore on this occasion not fall into that iniquity of Impatience taxed by the Heathen Moralists (*Iniquiores esse erga relictâ ereptorum desiderio*) to be unjust estimators of what God has left us, through too impatient a sense of what he has taken away. Meekly to accept the deserved punishment of our Sins, is certainly as moderate a degree of
Patience

Patience as any in reason can pay. Where as then we have lost a most Gracious King must we not confess our selves to have deserved it, by the abuse of that Ease, Peace Liberty and Plenty that we enjoyed under him, and yet were not contented? The consideration hereof must surely restrain us.

1. From all repining at Gods hand, and charging him with Severity. There may be a further End in this Providence than we are aware of. Perhaps God does but design to commend and set off his future Mercies by the present Stroke. We have seen many a glorious fair Day after a cloudy Morning. Seeing then we know not what God will bring forth, let us take care that we provoke him not to what, it may be, he does not yet intend: However, 'tis as little Justice as can be, not to complain of him till we have real Reason. And,

2. The same consideration too should keep us so far within the bounds of Patience, as not to repine against or accuse men. *Be still* also in this regard. There is so much wickedness of late in the world, and possibly some men know so much villany by themselves, as makes them suspect very bad things of others: And it is too

ease

Loyal Joy and Grief. 13

make a step with many in the world, first to suspect men, and then to charge them with what themselves have suspected of them. In the name of God let us be careful herein, and let no *Grief* transport us beyond Charity and Justice. *The hand of God we are sure is in all*, and that alone: let us eye, and pay thereto this first sort of *Quiet*, the *Quiet of Patience*: *In your Patience possess your Souls.* Luk. xxi. 19.

And secondly, there is yet a nobler degree of *Quiet*, which also becomes us, the *Quiet of Faith and good Hope*, in opposition to a base Abjectness of Mind and Despondency. *Psal. xxxvii. 5. Commit thy way unto the Lord; trust in him, and he shall bring thee to pass*, what thou dost justly desire. There can no case so disastrous or desperate befall good men, in which they ought to let go their Confidence in God. *Psal. xii. 8. Trust in him at all times, O ye people; pour out your Hearts before him. God is a Refuge*; Let us first assure our Hearts before God of our honest and upright designs in all things, and then we ought to hold fast our Confidence; yes, and even a *Rejoycing of hope to the end.* Heb. iii. 6. and again, chap. x. 35. *Cast not away [let not go] your Confidence, which hath great recompence of Reward.* Give me leave here to demand
what

what reason have we not to hope well? What, almost, colour have we for our Despondencies? If we look up to God we know that *all things shall work together for good to those who love him.* Rom. viii. 28. If we look to *our King*, I have already told you the blessed tidings, which with as great assurance as can be this day has brought us. Truly I know nothing, which should possess us with any fears of such impending Dangers, as many imagine, but only the *publick Sins*. As to these, let every one honestly reform his share thereof, and then let us trust God, and believe our King, and be of good heart. Be still with a *Quiet Faith*, and there may yet be expected a happy course of things both in Church and State.

My Brethren, the case is not with us as it seems to have been with the Faithful in this *Psalm*. *The Earth is not removed, nor the Mountains carried into the midst of the Sea.* (the Concussions are not so great as might have been feared, and in all appearance will not be such). And yet even in such case hear the Church in the words of the blessed Psalmist; *God is our Refuge and Strength, our present help in the time of trouble.* Therefore will we not fear, though the *Earth be removed, and the Mountains carried*

Loyal Joy and Grief. 15

carried into the midst of the Sea. Observe, though it were so, or though it should be so, yet ought not the shaking of the worlds foundation to shake our Faith. And it is still the more reasonable to press and maintain this, the *Quiet of Faith*, for that certainly nothing can more operate to our Destruction, than unreasonable fears, and the hurries and extravagancies that they will put us into. They will provoke God, they may provoke our King, they will infect the Minds of many, who haply are yet stable and loyal, and they will most disorderly influence the Actions of all. Be still therefore in Faith and good Hope.

Lastly, the other part of *holy Quiet* lies in the exercise of *Sobriety*: that we all of us observe Order, keep each of us within his own sphere, enterfere not with one another, nor exceed not the bounds of our Calling. It is a great evil of late that all sorts of men are strangely commenced Politicians: scarce a Farmer, scarce a Foreman of a Ship, but he can censure or dictate to the Government. Certainly, my Brethren, if we will think soberly of our selves, we are not all of us Statesmen, nay we are few of us fit to be such. Let us therefore be content to be governed by those that are wiser than our selves, and each

each man keep to his own business. Let *Magistrates* be vigilant in the Administration of Justice, and restraining all that they find inclining to Turbulency. Let *Ministers* each in their place be watchful over the Flock: and if they observe a Sheep straying, seek after and reduce it before it be lost. We must above all men, both by Precept and Practice, put forwards an universal soberness of Order, as well as of good Conversation. And let the *People* in their several Orders mind their own Concerns, whether of Trade, or of whatever other kind. Let no one be a *Busiebody*, or *Intermedler* in other mens matters, and above all, not in *State-Affairs*. I have heard by them that have been in Battles, that if a Body can be but disordered and huddled, they are presently routed: they then destroy one another. I am sure Confusion, and mens disorderly going out of, or beyond their places, has a very fatal consequence in all other Societies of men, and carries with it, not only Destruction generally, but a great deal of Guilt. For where there is Confusion, there is also every evil work. Jam. iii. 16. In a word, let those, who are to govern, govern; and those who are to obey (which I conceive is the part of most of us) obey, and

Loyal Joy and Grief. 17

and the World may be still in quiet.

There is one kind of Soberness (which I cannot forbear to touch on) not yet suggested; and that is *Soberness in Talk and Language*. If any of us still will nourish Fears, let us keep them to our selves, and be giddy alone. Let us not infect and disturb others. I will suppose I need not much press this: For a man would think some late practices amongst our Neighbours, if not yet amongst us, may have taught this part of the world Wit enough to be easily perswaded to regulate their Talk, or hold their Tongue.

Thus far then of this excellent Duty, so necessary at such seasons as this, when mens Imaginations are so up; an *holy Quiet* much becomes us, and will be very serviceable to us, which is, as you have heard, made up of *Patience, Faith and Soberness*.

Now to perswade hereto,

The first Argument in the Text is *God's general Providence*; *Know*, saith the Lord, *that I am God*. In other terms, *God rules the World*. A Sense of this, one should think, would easily quiet the most imbroiled or imbroiling Spirits. There have been now of old a Sect of Wise men, as they would be thought, in the world, who

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have

have conceived it to be too servile an employment, and too much discomposive of that Serenity and eternal Peace, which the Divine Nature must be conceived to be posselt of, for God to interpose himself in the Government or Managery of mundane affairs: but these have ever been branded, and that most justly, by all truly wise men, with the imputation of Atheism. For it is *the same thing*, as to all power and effect of Religion, to *deny God*, and to *deny Providence*. For if God heeds not me, nor concerns himself about me, why should I consecrate and resign my self and all my concerns to him, which is the primary and most essential act of all true Religion? No, no, my Brethren, both our Reason and Christianity will teach us better things than these; *Psal. lvi. 11. Verily there is a God that judgeth the world.* And that God all along, in all vicissitudes and changes of things, does *whatsoever pleaseth him in Heaven and Earth, in the Sea and in all deep places; Ps. cxxxv. 6.* He controles, or, as he pleaseth, blasts the Power of his Enemies, and scorns their Malice. When the Heathen rage, and the People imagine a vain thing; when they set themselves and take counsel together, *Pf. ii. 1, 2, &c.* (that is, to speak more in the language of the times)

Loyal Joy and Grief. 19

times) amidst all the Cabals and Consults of men of malicious and unquiet Spirits, *He that sitteth in the Heavens laughs, and the most High hath them in derision: Tet as he set his King upon his holy Hill of Sion: and there according to his Pleasure will keep him. Even the Wrath of men shall praise him; and the Remainder of Wrath shall be restrain. Wherefore consider this and be still.*

But more particularly; This Argument suits all the severals of the holy *Quiet* I have recommended.

First, If God govern the world, *be patient* whatever comes; let him alone in his Government; for govern he will, *let the world be never so unquiet.* And *who shall say to the great King of Heaven and Earth what dost thou?* Let none be apt so much as to say in their hearts, God appears not in the present Course of things, but Men rule all. Alas! 'tis the most senseless Grossness to imagine so. All the Grandees on Earth are but the Almightyes Agents: they act haply according to their own Counsels and Wills, but still *they all only do Gods work, though they do not all see it.* And who so considers God in and through all, will certainly be patient.

Again, this same Argument will persuade

swade the *Quiet of Faith*. For does God sit at the Helm of the World, and can his Servants have a better Friend here? Whom should we trust, if not him whom we have believed, whom we love, serve, and pretend totally to have given ourselves to? yea, whom we will sometimes allow to love us more, and to be more careful of us, than our selves? as long therefore as God governs the world let us be of good courage.

And lastly, as to the *Quiet of Sobriety*; can any thing more powerfully persuade us to keep our station than this Consideration, that the great Lord of all, in his course of Government of things, has here and thus placed every one of us, and eyes and heeds how we keep our posts? Even in this sense, *Non deferenda est statio nisi Imperator maximus jusserit*. I shall not be accountable for another mans business, nor that other for mine, but every one for his own; which most inevitably enforces, *Let every man do his own business*; let every man keep within the Calling wheren he is called by God.

Thus of the first Argument.

The second is Gods particular Superintendency in directing and ordering all things to his own Glory. This is it, which if we may

Loyal Joy and Grief. 21

may believe many (and certainly there are not a few, who in this point are in all charity to be believed); This, I say, creates much concernment to many, what shall become of the Glory, what of the Truth of God? To this God in the Text answers, *I will be exalted amongst the Heathen; I will be exalted in the Earth.* The *Heathen*, we know, is but a part of the World, namely, *that part that knows not God.* He will be exalted even amongst them. The *Earth* is a more comprehensive Name, and besides the *Heathen*, besides all that do not and all that will not know God, comprehends *all that know* and love him too; amongst one and the other will God be exalted: For he *will be exalted on the Earth.* This very case, we know, was the case of *Elijah*, 1 Kings xix. 10. He was apt to think, in his days God had not so well provided for his Worship, and the succession of the Truth in his Church as he might have done: and to his complaint herein, he receives only this answer; *Go, return on thy way to Damascus, Elijah; and when thou comest thither, anoint Hazael to be King of Syria, &c. Yet have I left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees that have not bowed to Baal, and every mouth that hath not kissed him.* ver. 15, 16,

17, 18. In other terms, thou hast been *very jealous for me*, as thou sayst. *Elijah*, (God grants this in that he doth not deny it) but do not thou macerate and perplex thy self about my Glory: leave that to me, and go thou on thy way, do thy business; discharge the Commands I give thee: 'Tis my part to make Kings, thine only to anoint them I have made so. But whereas thou sayst, *Thou, even thou only, art left in Israel* of the true Worshipers of God; thou art much mistaken in the computing the Number of my Church. In *Israel* it self (as corrupt as it is) besides the vast numbers in the Kingdom of *Judah*; In *Israel* it self *I have seven thousand* to the one thou hast named. Trouble not thy self therefore with fruitless thoughtfulness as to Succession, taking thy self thereby off from discharge of thy Prophetical Office; I have secured my Truth, my Worship, my Glory, my Church at a better rate than thou canst imagine. And I pray you, my Brethren, remember, 'tis the same God that reigns in Heaven still; nor is he now less solicitous of his Glory than then he was. Can any of us pretend to be wiser than the Omniscient? He must know therefore how more fitly to order all things to his own Glory than do we:

Can

Loyal Joy and Grief. 23

Can any of us pretend to be more powerful than the Almighty? He must therefore be more able to manage all to his Glory than we; and certainly he will not be unfaithful to himself. I pray you consider, were it not a most unheard of Sawciness, not to say Blasphemy, should any of us say to God, Let me a while govern in thy room, and dispose of things, and see if I do not put them into better order for thy Glory? Now what do we less than this, if we are not content with Gods Methods, or go about to disturb the course he puts things into? I do not dissuade any from being concerned for the Honour of God. Far be it from me! It is a good argument of the Love of God and Virtue, when we resent the Affronts which both meet with from the Wickedness of Men: And besides it will put us upon the Reformation of our selves, and of as many as we can amend: But when such Zeal breaks out into Discontent, Repining or Despondency of the Cause of God and Religion, or puts men on stepping beyond the bounds of their Calling, it is blamable and sinful, and deserves another kind of Reprimand than God gave *Elijah*.

And particularly, this Argument will perswade first the *Quiet of Patience*. For
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being we have seen God so infinitely qualified for the supreme Superintendency over all things and persons; being also we cannot believe, he will be true to himself, we ought to conclude he will gain Glory to himself even by those very things, by which we may foolishly imagine he forfeits or hazards his Glory. Wherefore if we will not be most unreasonable, we must be patient.

Again, this Consideration also enforces particularly the *Quiet of Faith*. If the Almighty and the Alwise has resolved that he *will be exalted amongst the Heathen, and in all the Earth* too, you may easily be confident he will be so. A little Faith, one should think, should suffice men to believe God will be true to his own concerns, that is, to his Glory, Truth and Church.

And lastly, This no less enforces the *Quiet of Sobriety*. For what greater madness can there be conceived, when we profess to believe God thus resolved and intent on his business, and to have put all things into the wisest and best order, than for us to interpose and disturb this Order? And yet every man does disturb that Order, who makes a step out of his Calling, that is, out of the Order, Place and Degree God has put him into.

Where-

Loyal Joy and Grief. 25

Wherefore seeing God not only governs the World in general, but particularly directs all to the exalting of his own Glory, if the Glory of God be dear to us, as we profess it is, and if we believe that God is God, let us be quiet with a Quiet both of Patience, Faith and Sobriety.

The third and last Argument in the Text perswading still the same Duty, is Gods *Presence, Patronage* and everlasting *Constancy* to his Church, celebrated here by the Psalmist in the name of the Church; (for in the last verse he brings in the Church speaking thus) *The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our Refuge,* And it is observable this is the great *Chorus* in this most glorious and lofty Anthem. It in a sort began the Psalm. *God is our Refuge,* ver. 1. but word for word we have in ver. 7. and it closes all in the Text. Indeed the Consideration of Gods Presence with, and Protection of, his Church cannot be to much thought of, nor too often sung by the Faithful. *The Lord of Hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our Refuge.* Oh! how sweet is it both to Ear and Heart! He is with us not only as God, but as the Lord of Hosts. And should Hosts fail, he is with us as a Refuge

fuge too; and as may be supplied from another place, as *our Portion and exceeding great Reward.*

When poor *Cræsus* (not long before as much a prodigy of Wealth as then of Misery) was led captive in Chains at the Command of his Conqueror *Cyrus*, into whose hands he had fallen by the Fraud of *Apollo* (otherwise to be called the Devil) of *Delphos*, whom alone above all their Deities he had honoured with Gifts, he requested of his Conquerour one small Boon, before his Execution, which he instantly expected; namely, *ἐπιπράττειν τὰς ἑαυτοῦ αἰχμὰς*, that sending those Chains then as a Present, he might ask that Grecian God, *εἰ θεὸς ἔστιν ὁ ἀντιπράττειν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς*. Whether it were his Usage to put Cheats upon Benefactors his Worshippers. This was a Reproach indeed most justly due to the Father of Lyes: But the Worshippers of the God of the God of *Jacob* can never lay such Imputation upon him. *Our Fathers trusted in thee, they trusted and thou didst deliver them. They cried unto thee and were delivered, they trusted in thee and were not confounded. For thou art holy, O thou that inhabitest the Praises of Israel! Psal. xxii. 3, 4, 5.* And he, the same God, hath said, *I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee.* Wherefore let this

Conside-

Loyal Joy and Grief. 27

Consideration also induce such *Stillness* and *holy Quiet* as has now several times been prest.

Particularly again, this Consideration also most reasonably may induce the *Quiet of Patience*: For whose Will ought we to pay more absolute Deference to, than to the Will of our most faithful Protector, our sure Refuge and eternal Portion?

The *Quiet of Faith*: For who fitter to be relied upon than he who never deceived a cordial Confident?

And the *Quiet of Sobriety*: For if by exceeding our Calling, or going out of our place we come into misery, it is not so much God that has brought it upon us, as we that have run our selves into it. We might have been safe, if we had kept within the Boundaries God set us.

I have now done with my Text; at least in the *Acceptation* or Reference I chose to take it in. I know not what remains, except any should expect that I should touch upon it in that *other Reference* I said it might admit; namely, as *applicable to the Enemies of the Church*. For to them also God may be conceived with great reason here to speak; *Be you still, and know that I am God.*

And there are not a few, were they within

within hearing, that have need of this Lesson: such, I mean, who have long hoped for, and otherwise, as well as in their mad Carouses, prayed for the Confusion of our Church and Religion, that is (I may say it without the least Arrogancy or Prevarication) the most loyal Church and Religion in the World; that, I mean, by Law established. God forgive them, and in these hopes God deceive them! In the mean while *let them know the Lord is God.* And as we have made it our business to consider and study our Duty, so by Gods Grace we will perform it. We will be *still*, that is, patient and hopeful, sober and loyal: and we do not doubt, but the *Lord of Hosts will be with us, and the God of Jacob will be still our Refuge.* We can with the assurance of good Conscience take up the words of that holy King *Abijah*, animating himself and his People in a more difficult condition than, God be blessed, ours is, or, we hope, is like to be; 2 Chr. xiii. 10. *As for us the Lord is our God, and we have not forsaken him: We have retained, and do retain his Faith and Worship pure as once delivered to the Saints.* We have endeavoured, and in humble sincerity we can say we do endeavour to perform the Conditions of his promised Presence and

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Loyal Joy and Grief. 29

Protection; and so long we depend upon his Promises. Nor do we list to reflect upon our Adversaries Practices, though we could.

Further, besides our *Gods Promises*, we have our *Kings Promises* too for the support of our Minds: and some men must pardon us, if we give a thousand times more credit to *His Majesties Royal Word* than to their *airy Hopes or ventose Brava- does*. We do not believe His Majesty will esteem their vain Insultings over their fellow Subjects any part of Loyalty or Service to him. His Majesty has, God be blessed, amongst his very Enemies the character of a wise Prince, and of a magnanimous Prince: and there is nothing farther off from such Temper than to approve Insolencies. Wherefore let as many of the Adversaries of our Church, of all sorts, as hear me this day, take the Text as spoken unto them also. *Be ye still, and know that the Lord is God.*

But to conclude, in a word to all; laying aside our private Humours and little mutual Piques at Persons and Parties too, if possible; let us all joyn in a *Quiet of Peace and Christian Charity*, which I toucht not till now, resolving to close with it. And to press this, I should think no Argument

ment need to be used but our own Interest. Here are a multitude of us present that are old enough to remember what our eyes have seen, (and may we never see the second time!) the Miseries and Desolations, the Cruelties and Ravages of Civil Wars. Can we be fond of them? or does not Horror seize us when we reflect on those dreadful Idea's, though almost worn out? For our own sakes then, as well for Gods and Religions, let us all *study to be quiet, and to do our own business.* And if we meet with any, who either by their *secret Perswasions, or Combinations*, or by their *whispering Fears and Jealousies*, Designs and Stories contrary to what you have heard of His Majesties Royal Intentions and Declaration; who, I say, either by these or any other methods, we have reason to believe are endeavouring to disturb the publick Peace, and embroyl things; let us in the name of God *discover them.* Better such men suffer than we, than all. And especially let us *empty our own minds,* and *dispossess* our selves of such *Jealousies.* Fears and Jealousies did undo us once: God in his mercy restored all, King, and Church, and Religion. The same Fears and Jealousies have bid fair to destroy all again. God has hitherto hindered

Loyal Joy and Grief. 31

dred it. In the name of God let us not tempt him again thereby to destroy us; or let not us our selves destroy our selves by the old unreasonable methods. In a word, as I have *said before*, but *repeat*, that it may be *more surely practised*. Let us *trust God*, and next *trust our King*, be quiet, loyal and circumspect in our places; and I doubt not but all things will go well with us and the whole *Israel of God*.

Which God grant: And to Him be all Glory, Praise and Thanksgiving now and for ever. *Amen.*

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THE
REASONS
AND
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OF

Loyal Devotion.

Set forth in a

SERMON

Before the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens
of *Cork*, and many of the Countrey
Gentry and others, assembled in *Christ-
church* in the City of *Cork*, on *St.
Georges Day, Apr. 23. 1685.* being the
Day of the Coronation of his Gracious
Majesty *James II. in England.*

By *Edward Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross.*

Dublin printed by *A. Crook and S. Helsham,*
for *William Norman, Samuel Helsham and*
Eliphal Dobson, Booksellers.

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Touching This

S E R M O N.

THe chief Design of this Sermon is to make people conscientious in daily Prayers for the King, whether in publick or in private: and by the by, to vindicate our Church Liturgy from the imputation of Tautology, charged upon it, in this behalf, by the old as well as present Dissenters. An unkindness, not to say an impudence in them, which even His Blessed Majesty Charles I. took notice of in his incomparable *ΕΙΣΟΔΙΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ* chap. 16. how perfunctory many, even of truly loyal and sober persons, are apt to be in the usual Prayers for the King, partly because they occur so often, that it seems a matter of course, partly for that they attend not distinctly, how much both themselves and theirs,

as well as the whole three Kingdoms, are concerned therein, is more obvious, than that need to take notice of it. I could think on better Arguments to stick upon all men, than what I have used; and judged there could scarce come a better season, than the day on which I applyed them. Some mens Objections I have chosen to answer rather covertly, and by way of anticipation, than expressly to mention: which way I took, to avoid offence. The present Sermon was only preached in the Place and on the Occasion mentioned. God make it useful to the End whereto it was designed.

THE

T H E
Reasons and Need
O F
Loyal Devotion.

Set forth in a SERMON, before the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens of *Cork*, and many of the Gentry, assembled in *Christchurch*, in the City of *Cork*, on *St. Georges day*, *Apr. 23. 1685.* being the Day of the Coronation of His Gracious Majesty *James II.*

The Text *1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. I exhort therefore that first of all Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all men: For Kings, and all that are in Authority.*

WE are here assembled of our own free accord, and by a general agreement amongst our selves, upon occasion of *His Majesties* (we trust) most happy Coronation in *England* this present

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2 The Reasons & Need

sent day, and, as we may guess, about this time, I believe, if we think never so much on the Subject, we can devise no other thing we can do whereby we can in this instant contribute to make his Crown sit long, easie and secure on his Head, but the offering up our hearty and sincere Prayers to that purpose: which, because in the present instance a free-will Offering, ought for that reason, after the manner of all free-will Offerings, to be the more cheerful and affectionate.

I exhort therefore that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all men: for Kings, and all that are in Authority. Which Exhortation manifestly depends on the 18th verse of the foregoing chapter; This Charge I commit to thee, Son Timothy, that according to the Prophecies which have been of thee, thou warr a good warfare, that is, thou diligently and strenuously discharge the Office of a Bishop. As the Roman Emperors used when they sent forth their Prefects or Governours into their Provinces, to

give them their Instructions with
In loc. *them, so says Grotius, does St.*

Paul here to Timothy, and in him to other Bishops, sent forth unto their Churches. And of those Instructions, this, the due ordering

of Loyal Devotion. 3

ordering and constituting the publick Prayers of the Church, was the first. I exhort therefore first of all; for afterwards, as we might shew you, by particulars, he gives him many further Commands. Now as to the Contents of the publick Prayers, or of Liturgies, he requires that they consist of *Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks*: and what is the particular import of these several terms ought (at least in *transit*) as we pass to our main design, to be considered.

Some have thought that one and the same thing is here signified by several expressions, only in divers regards; so that the publick Prayers should be called *Supplications*, as they testify before God our wants; *Petitions*, *as they express the desires of our Souls*: and *Intercessions*, as asking with humble boldness, and not diffidently. But I really believe St. Pauls words to have more in them: and so St. *Austin* (most fully of the Ancients) and divers Moderns, have taught us: out of all whom very briefly I shall present a Summulary or Abstract. *Asiatic*, *Supplications* are generally understood such Prayers, by

*Thomp. Cost.
Cameron.
&c*

*Epistola 59.
ad Pauli-
nam.*

4 The Reasons & Need

which we deprecate Evils, whence the word is anciently by St. *Ambrose* and St. *Austin*, as well as by more modern Writers, rendred *Deprecations*. In plain terms, we may conceive for our distincter understanding hereby meant such Prayers as now we style *Litanies*, wherein we pray that God would deliver us from the several evils of Soul and Body. And these are *Impensior Oratio*, as St. *Jerome* glosses the word, a more earnest kind of Prayer.

Πετitions, *Petitions* (or Prayers in a stricter sense of the name are such Addresses to God, by which we ask that good things may be bestowed on us. I judge hereby specially signified such Prayers as generally our *Collects* are.

Επιτροπη, *Intercessions*, or *Interpellatio pro aliorum salute* interposing with God for the Safety of others, seems *Theod. Beza, Cornel. à Lapid. &c.* very properly to denote such Prayers as have been ever since the primitive age used at the Communion for the whole Estate of Christs Church militant on Earth.

And then as to *giving of Thanks* (whether for our own or others Mercies) there can be no doubt of its plain & certain difference from all the rest. And not only the *Te Deum* & other Hymns of the Church; but in

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of Loyal Devotion. 5

an especial manner, the close of the fore-
mentibred Prayer, blessing the Name of
God for all his Saints (which is a very an-
cient part of the Office of the Eucharist)
will properly suit thereto: So that in
short we find here the blessed Apostle pre-
scribing or directing a kind of *Liturgv* in
the Christian Church, and that consisting
of such parts and Offices as our present
Service Book consists of. And this he gives
as the very first point in charge to *Timo-*
thy.

To proceed: Such Prayers as these
must be *made for all men*. *This*, saith St.
Chrysostome, the *Apostle* begins with, that his
Injunction which follows, *For Kings and all*
that are in Authority, might not be misjudged
to proceed from flattery to them that were in
power. The Fathers conjecture is not to
be contemned, yet doubtless there was
further reason for the Practice enjoyned;
it is but an agreeable product of the Chri-
stian Spirit or Temper: Christianity both
teaches and implants universal Charity.
We are to love all men, and therefore to
pray for all men.

For Kings and them that are in Authority.
The Greeks, saith *Grotius*, called the *Roman*
Emperors Kings, not regarding so much the
name as the thing it self: And then by pro-
portion,

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portion, [the *ἐκκλησία*] they that are in Authority will be the Presidents of the Provinces. I acknowledge the note is learned and wholesom; yet if we explain *St. Paul* out of *St. Peter*, the Text will be more plain, or the Words understood in a way more accommodate to the present forms of Government, *1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. Submit your selves, saith he, to every Ordinance of Man, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governours, as those that are sent by him.* By Kings we understand those who are supreme, those who have within their Dominions the highest Authority under God and Christ, independant on any other. And such I conceive, none here believe any one to be within these Kingdoms, but His present Majesty *James* the second, whom God preserve. By Governours, those who are commissioned by the Sovereign. For both, and all, we are especially, *i. e.* expressly by the Apostles command to supplicate in our publick Church Prayers.

There are more Heads might be insisted on from hence than I am willing to detain you with at present: but of any two Propositions that I can pitch on deducible hence, these following are most comprehensive of the whole.

1. Prop.

of Loyal Devotion.

7

1. *Prop.* In the publick Service of the Church there ought to be Prayers, Supplications, Petitions and giving of Thanks for all men.

2. *Prop.* In an especial manner such publick Prayers (and that of all the kinds mentioned) ought to be made for Kings and all subordinate Governours.

I will speak a few things briefly of the first, as a good and proper foundation (for it hath seemed such to the Holy Ghost in the Text) as a proper foundation, I say, to the second. We are in our publick Prayers to make Supplications, Petitions and Thanksgivings for all men. And I have already suggested the indefensible ground or foundation hereof. Christianity teaches and induces universal Charity, or Love to all men; to Aliens and Enemies (we know) as well as to Fellow-patriots and Friends. I cannot therefore simply either approve or justify that *distinction* (which the *parsimonious* Charity of some applies here) interpreting the All men in the Text meerly of the *Genera singulorum*, not the *singuli Generum*. We are here commanded, say they, to pray for all sorts and degrees of men, but not for all the men of each sort and degree: there are many particular persons for whom we ought not to pray.

Obj.

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Obj. As to what they bring in proof hereof, that the Apostle has given us a limitation, (1 Joh. v. 16.) *There is a Sin unto Death; I do not say that ye shall pray for it,*

that is, as appears by the Context, *Sol.* for them who commit it; I allow it to be true (and God forbid but all men should allow it as such, for 'tis express Scripture); but I assert it to be in the present state of the Church generally unapplicable as a rule of Practice. For

1, What is a Sin unto Death (*pro hic & nunc*) we know not, I mean in this or that mans ordinary practice, we are not able, (I am sure I have not met with that judicious person living who has dared) to determine. If God would be severe, or but exactly just, if, as the Prophet speaks, he should lay *Judgment to the Line, and Righteousness to the Plummets*, there is no Sin at all which would not be unto death: but now that through Christ Jesus *all who believe are justified from all things from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses*, (Act. xxii. 39.) we know no Sins unpardonable, that is, unto Death, but either (1.) *Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost*, (which if we know what it is, we cannot, I think, judge properly incident into the present age; if we do not know, though we

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we should hear a man to commit it, we could not be assured he in that sinned unto Death); or (2.) Such Sins which are an *utter defiance of the Covenant of Grace*, of which kind, as far as I am able to see, we know none, but *final Unbelief and final Impenitence*; and till men are dead in their unbelief and impenitence we are not sure (though we may strongly fear) that God will not give them Faith and Repentance, that is, we are not sure their Unbelief or Impenitence will be final, that is, we know not that they have yet sinned unto Death: Wherefore if they are so bad that we can pray for nothing else in their behalf, yet may we most charitably pray that God would give them Faith and Repentance, though they come in even in the end of the eleventh hour of the day.

There was indeed in the miraculous days a miraculous Gift of *discerning of Spirits*; and I will not say, but St. *John* and other like inspired persons might be able hereby to perceive what men sinned unto death, and when, how, and in what acts: But I think there is none, but mad men, will in the present age pretend to this Gift, and then there will be no knowing who will sin unto death, that is, be finally incre-

10 The Reasons & Method

incredulous or impenitent, except God should reveal it to us. Besides, as just now intimated, none can be said to be incredulous or impenitent finally, that is, to their end, till their end, that is till their death: and we do not teach to pray for any persons longer. Wherefore it remains, except God should reveal to any of us that such and such particular persons were incorrigible, and by him eternally rejected from all Grace, and so by immediate Inspiration, or voice from Heaven, interdict us to pray for them, I conceive in the present state of the Church we stand bound in charity to pray for all men, (at least, that God would give them repentance) as long as they are in this life, or on this side Hell, be they never so wicked. Further.

2. If that Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which our Lord has declared (*Matt. xii. 31, 32.*) *shall not be forgiven unto men, either in this world, or that which is to come,* were, as in all probability it was, the Jews malicious ascribing those Miracles to *Beelzebub the Prince of Devils*, which in their Consciences they were convinced he did by the power of the Holy Ghost, then by reason of the Cessation of Miracles no man of the present age is capable of it; and

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and therefore is no man now, upon supposition of this sin, to be excluded from our Prayers.

In a word, as the world goes, I know not how there is any maintaining Charity or the true Christian Temper, without strict observing the Apostles injunction in my Text. For allow this, that we are not to pray for those who have sinned a sin unto death, and withal that sins unto death are in the present age as certainly to be known, as they are commonly committed, there will be few men, if they have but ill nature enough to maintain enmities, whose Malice will not byass their Judgments to pronounce their Enemies to have sinned a sin unto death, and so there will be no loving of Enemies, or praying for them; at least, there will be a proper method to absolve us from the Obligation of that our Lords Command of loving our Enemies, and blessing those that curse us, so proper to the Religion by him instituted.

Wherefore, by the way, give me leave from hence to recommend unto you the *Prudence, Piety and Integrity of the first Reformers of our Church*, and consequently the *Soundness of the Reformation it self*. The first thing the Apostle gives in charge here

to

12 The Reasons & Need

to Timothy, in order to the settling the Church of Ephesus, is the due constituting the publick Prayers. The first part of the Reformation was the compiling the Liturgy of our Church, and that almost in the very form we at present have it. The primitive publick Prayers by the Apostolical Injunction in the Text were to consist of Supplications Petitions, Intercessions and giving of Thanks. And St. Chrysostome on the Text tells us, in his time the practice of the Church was accordingly; *The Priests all know, faith he, how this is performed every day both morning and evening. Our Liturgy does consist of Confessions, Suffrages or Litanies, of Collects, of Prayers for the whole Church, Hymns and Eucharistical Devotions, parts perfectly conformable to what was then both enjoyed and practised. And these, according to the Apostle, were to be made for all men, and, as Chrysostome tells us, were actually so made. We pray accordingly in our Litany, That it please thee to have mercy upon all men. Besides we have other Prayers for all sorts and conditions of men: But especially for Kings, faith the Apostle, and all that are in Authority. And that these Prayers, according to Order, in our Liturgy are offered up morning and evening, I need not tell you:*

but

of Loyal Devotion. 13

but as led hereby, proceed to my main design.

Proposition II. Publick Prayers of the Church, in all kinds, are to be made for Kings and all in Authority.

Nothing can be more expressly said in terms, than this is in the present Text. And it gives a very great *emphasis* to the Apostles Injunction, and so makes our Obligation to the Duty much the stronger, if we consider, when this Epistle was writ, or in what days the Apostle laid this Charge on *Timothy*; namely, in the first year of *Nero's* being Emperor of *Rome*, according to *Baronius*, in his third year, say others; all agree 'twas under his Empire. What *Nero* was for a Monster of a man, as to all Villanies imaginable, I need not speak: nor will you easily think the *Governours sent by him*, viz. the Prefects of the Army or Provinces, were most of them much better than their Emperour. And such a long time continued the Emperours and the other Powers;

As S. Chrysostome expresses it, ungodly men succeeding ungodly men: so that, Quot erant eo tempore magistratus, tot Ecclesia hostes atque Idolatria. As many *Magistrates as there were, so many*

In loc.

Bez. in loc.

E

Enemies

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Enemies were there of the Church, so many Idolaters; and, God knows, vast multitudes more by their example. Yet even for these did the Apostle injoyne constant Prayers daily to be made in the Church. So that we must necessarily, if we mind this circumstance, apply hereto that of the Apostle St. Peter, as to be subject to, so to pray for, not only the good and gentle, but also τῶν ἀκαθάρτων, the froward or perverse.

Yet let none, by the way, be so vile as to make here any misconstruction. God be blessed, we have no need to apply this Emphasis in our circumstances. We have a King most Gracious, who protects us in our Religion, and has again and again promised so to do, of which we have most publick and ample assurance. However, as long as there are such infernal Spirits in humane shape, as are at this day many of the *Scotch Covenanters*, who will not so much as say *God save* or *God bless the King* to save themselves from the Gallows, it was not fit to omit this observation of the Date of this Epistle. For hereby, let the King have been what he could be to them, they are convicted by our Apostles Doctrine, to have renounced their Christianity in this case, with their

Allegi-

of Loyal Devotion. 15

Allegiance and Duty to their King: let them dye what they would, they dyed no Christians.

It is not impossible there are others in the world, who, though to save not only their Lives, but their Estates, they will; and do pray for the King, yet do it not either out of *good Affection*, or *Conscience of their Christian Duty*. Wherefore give me leave here, besides the meer Evidence of the Text, to add some other, that the Duty we hence learn may appear to be of no such indifferent or inferiour rank, as that men may omit or forbear it with a *Salvo* to their Integrity and good Conscience. And though I know my Audience too well to judge them of this kind, yet will not this be an unprofitable labour: for certainly none of us can have too deep or quick a sense of any point of our Christian Duty.

Now in the entrance on this Evidence, I will say in general, we have *all the Obligation* to this Duty, that we *can have to any Duty* in the World. Besides the Obligation from *human Laws*, which I will not yet touch on. we have all obligation I can conceive possible,

1. From Scripture and our common Christianity. And

E 2

2. From

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2. From Reason and Prudence. And
3. From Equity and good Nature.

From *Scripture or common Christianity*:
The sum of the Obligations we can have thence can well amount no higher than *express Commands* (and them urged with the greatest instance) and *constant Practice or Example*.

As to Command. Nothing can be, as already said, more express, nothing more emphatical than the Text, of which one thing remains that I have not yet noted; namely, how the Apostle in the progress of his Discourse presses this Practice with sundry Arguments, and the greatest earnestness, *That we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty*; ver. 2. Here he presses it from the Fruits of this Practice; *This good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour*; ver. 3. Here from the Will of God, *who would have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the Truth*; ver. 4. Here from the Divine Nature or Philanthropy and Goodness of God, which we ought to imitate: and ver. 8. he concludes the Subject; *I will therefore that men pray every where*; namely, in the kinds and ways before directed.

Again, I say, nothing can easily be more
empha-

of Loyal Devotion. 17

emphatical. But we may look much further back, *Eccles. x. 20. Curse not the King, no not in thine heart.* If negative Precepts, as Divines tell us, include the opposite affirmative, this will be a Command to pray for Kings in our Souls, as well as in our words, and in secret as well as in our Churches. However 'tis well worthy our notice, what sense the *Jewish Doctors* had of this Precept, who tell us generally, that throughout their whole Law, Thoughts are no were forbidden, nor can Sin be committed by them meerly, except in the present case, and in that other of worshipping false Gods: And pursuant hereto, which is very wonderful, was their general practice, yea even towards the Heathen Emperors; When they chose all of them rather to dye, than place *Caius's* Statue in their Temple, they at the same time professed, that they daily offered Sacrifice to the true God in their Temple for him. *Joseph. de Bello Judaic. lib. 2. c. 9.* On such Practice, now a long time received in the Jewish Church, before Christ, was it that the Apostles here so earnestly gives this in charge to *Timothy*. We have seen thus the *Christian Law* or *Command* and the *ancient occasion* thereof.

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Now as to Christian Example. There can be no doubt but that the Apostles Practice was agreeable to their own Doctrine. And as for the succeeding ages of the Christian Church, one passage of *Chrysostom* has been produced already, and to wave that multitude of other Testimonies, and some of the very Forms of Prayer, which might be produced in this case, we will content our selves with that known and most full one (of undoubted authority) in *Tertullian*, who wrote about 200 years after Christ; *Thither* (that is to Heaven) *faith he, we Christians looking up, with hands or arms stretched open, because innocent; with heads and faces uncovered, because we blush not; without any instigator, because from our hearts, we pray for all Emperors, beseeching to them a long Life, a secure Reign, a safe Family, valiant Armies, a faithful Senate, a loyal Commonalty, and a peaceable World, and whatsoever are the wishes of men, or of the Cæsars themselves.* This was he able then most truly to plead in apology for Christianity: and at that time, and for above an hundred years after, such a thing as a Christian King was not known. When the Emperors became Christian, you cannot but conclude it was much more so.

In sum then, as to Obligation from
Scripture

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Scripture, and the common Christianity, if either express or importunate Command, or constant Practice of the Christian Church (which is the sum of what Obligations we can have thence) will make it an indispensable Duty, to pray for Kings, we have both.

Now as to Obligations from *Reason and Prudence*; perhaps that of our own Interest, the *Benefit* which hence amounts, to the publick, and so to all *private persons* of whom the publick body is made up, may be looked upon as the most effectual reason, or best prudential ground assignable. Interest commonly fails not to more; let it then prevail here. Let it therefore be considered;

1. *Kings* and Governours are the *Safeguard of the People*, the great Security of the publick Weal. The Scripture expressly calls the Rulers of a Nation its *Shields*, in *Hof. iv. 18.* We indeed in our Translation have the word *Rulers* there: but in the original *Hebrew* it is *the Shields*; which Text most naturally explains *Psal. xlvii. 10. The Shields of the Earth belong unto the Lord*; that is the *Kings of the Earth*, who are its *Shields*, are Gods Subjects and peculiar right: which is most plain by the foregoing verses, *ver. 7. God is King over*

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all the Earth. Then he divides Earth in-
to the Heathen and Jews, *ver. 8.* God
reigneth over the Heathen. *ver. 9.* The Prin-
ces of the people are gathered together, even of
the people of the God of Abraham. Finally,
in the tenth verse he conjoyns or puts all
together again; *The Shields of the Earth*
belong unto God, he is greatly exalted; name-
ly, he is King of Kings and Lord of Lords.
Nor will any doubt the truth of this Scrip-
ture assertion, or justice of the phrase,
who shall but think with himself what a
forlorn, helpless, despicable thing the most
populous Nation is without an Head. In
1 Sam. xi. we have a Story which will ful-
ly illustrate this matter, *ver. 2.* *Nabush*
the King of the *Ammonites* offers these in-
solent Conditions to the *Israelites*, upon
which he will accept them for his Ser-
vants; *On this Condition will I make a Co-*
venant with you, that I may thrust out all
your right Eyes, and lay it as a Reproach upon
Israel. And what said all the mighty men
of *Israel* to this? *All the people lift up their*
voice and wept; *ver. 4.* All the people were
not a few; *ver. 8.* *The Children of Israel*
were three hundred thousand, and the Men
of Judah thirty thousand. A pretty num-
ber indeed to lift up their voice and weep
at a vain mans scornful Rodomantade!

What

of Loyal Devotion. 21

What's the matter with them? The point was, there was yet, in effect, *no King in Israel*. *Saul* indeed was just anointed King, *chap. x.* but he had not yet taken upon him the actual Exercise of his Kingly Power: he lived yet privately in *Gibeah of Saul*, and *was coming after the Herd out of the Field.* *cap. xi. 5.* But when *Saul* heads them, they had now *one to save them*, as the expression is, *ver. 3.* and having put the people into three Companies (drawn them into three Squadrons) they slew the Ammonites until the heat of the day, and they that remained of them were so scattered, that *no of them were not left together*, *ver. 11.* so great a Strength and Shield was their new King already become to *Israel*. And I beseech you, Brethren consider it, if not from this instance, from any other you please. There is nothing more exposes a People to be the most easie prey to their far weaker Enemies, than *Anarchy*, or want of Governours. To their Enemies shall I say? Nay, there is nothing more exposeth them to themselves. In those disorders and dreadful civil Wars which ensued thereon, the History of which makes up the five last Chapters of the Book of *Judges*; the reason of all that fatal series of Events is no less than four times inculcated

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rated in these numerical words, *In those days there was no King in Israel*, chap. xvii. 4. xviii. 1. xix. 1. and xxi. 25. I will not rub on old sores; but we may remember what days they were when there was no King in our *Israel*. Wherefore if we love our own and three Nations Safety, let this reason move us to be constant in our Prayers for our King and Governours.

2. Let it be considered further, *Kings happy and prudent Government is the Rule and Measure of the Peoples Flourishing and Prosperity*. As things are managed by the Prince with more or less Prudence, Justice and Conduct; so for the main do the People more or less grow and advance, stand or decline in all, at least, outward felicities. The *Benefits of his good Managery* are greater than I am able to give account of, and the *contrary* as dismally, and generally *fatal*.

First. A word particularly to the *Benefits* thereof: for of them the Context takes notice; *That we may live a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty*. The Apostle, as becomes him, takes notice chiefly of spiritual goods, or, at least, advantages tending to them. And some Benefits to themselves particularly shall all particular persons undoubtedly reap, who
are

of Loyal Devotion. 23

are conscientious in the discharge of this Duty. But we may hope, where all joyn with united and constant Devotion therein *he that heareth Prayers* will not be deaf to his Servants who *cry night and day to him*: Rather, that to so universal and so importunate Prayers he will give in a plerophory of Blessings; Blessings in heavenly things, the flourishing of Religion, the Reformation of mens Manners, the advance of Union and Charity, and like Benefits. Oh! how much to be wished for to the Church of God! and that happy outward advantage hereto, publick Peace and Quiet. which gives all sorts of men all opportunities of *Godliness and Honesty*. No less than these are the fruits of Kings good Administration, *Prov. xx. 8, 26. A wise King that sitteth on the Throne, scattereth away all evil with his eyes. He scattereth the wicked, and bringeth the Wheel over them.* The Wheel in the Eastern Countries was oftentimes the instrument to thresh with; and 'tis here put in allusion thereto, to signify the infliction of such punishment, which either severs the sound and useful from the rotten and unprofitable, or breaks in pieces what withstands. Now the issue thereof the same holy Author tells us; *When the wicked perish the righteous increase.*

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creafe. ch. xxviii. ult. And no less than those may we hope will be the fruits of our loyal Prayers.

But further, where we may look for the greater, much more for the less. If then the concerns of Religion and the prosperity of our Souls depend so much on the Princes pious and prudent Administration, much more do those of our *civil Liberties and Property*. The better the publick affairs are managed, the better it is generally for all private persons; The Princes own share of fruition is usually the least: for the happiest Effects of his best and wisest Councils cannot well be greater than these two,

Either first, *continued Peace,*

Or secondly, *victorious Arms.*

In both, it may be truly said of all good Kings and Princes concerned in either, or blessed with both, *Vos, non vobis*, it is not for themselves they labour or succeed; the great Benefit still redounds to the people, or to publick bodies.

As on the *contrary*, secondly. If in their Counsels or Enterprises Kings miscarry, the ill Success usually falls heavy on the multitude. Though the Prince be but one man, and have but one Life to lose, yet be sure he can never fall alone. Nay

when

of Loyal Devotion. 25

when the Providence of God, whose peculiar care Kings are, in the midst of many publick calamities, preserves their persons safe and untouched, very often, according the methods and ancient proceedings of his sovereign Wisdom, great numbers of the people fall. *Zech. x. 3. Mine anger was kindled against the Shepherds, and I punished the Goats.* We know it was no otherwise in the transgression of that holy King, *the man after Gods own heart*: David numbred the people, but the people who were numbred suffered. In which kind of cases there is more strict Justice in God, than all men generally are aware of. For that the *Princes Sins*, for which God at any time immediately or proximately takes punishment, are usually the *Effect of some other Sins of the People*; as in the very instance of *Davids Sin* mentioned *2 Sam. xxiv. 1. The anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel, and he moved* [that is, as appears by the narrative hereof (*1 Chron. xxi. 1.*) *he suffered Satan, who stood up against Israel, to provoke or move*] David to number Israel. *Davids Sin* was the punishment of the *Peoples Sin*, and so the People most justly suffered for it. A like case we have, *2 Kings xxiv. last. Through the anger of the Lord it came to pass in Jerusalem*
and

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and Judah, until he had cast them out from his presence, that Zedekiah rebelled against the King of Babylon. King Zedekiahs breaking Covenant with Nebuchadnezzar was his own Sin, yet he fell into it by Gods being provoked with his Peoples Iniquities, and so it justly operated to the casting them out of Gods presence, that is, out of the *Holy Land*. And I must here boldly, but truly, say; whatsoever there is, that in our judgment is amiss in our Gracious King His present Majesty, is the Effect of the Sins of a great multitude of his people, either now living, or in the memory of many of us dead. If our King be not fully of our Religion, who were they, that when they had by rebellious Arms first deposed, then murdered the Father, afterwards drove the whole Royal Progeny into strange Countries, where they found more kindness from them of a foreign Religion, than from the body of their native Subjects? God divert from the three Nations the Plagues yet due to that Rebellion, and its consequent Villanies! In the mean while let the present consideration, how Princes miscarriages light heavy, and that most justly, on their Subjects, as well as on the contrary their prudent and pious Conduct so vastly ad-

vanceth

of Loyal Devotion. 27

vanceth both the spiritual and temporal Prosperity of their people ; let, I say, this most reasonable consideration move all of us to be duly devout in offering Supplications, Prayers and Intercessions for our King, and all sent by him. Those great *Rationalists* who scarce will admit any other *Law of Nature*, allow *Self-preservation* to be such. I say, even this obliges us to pray for Kings, and that most ardently ; 'tis an act in our own defence, and for our own advantage.

But I trust we are most of us acted by more generous Principles : let me therefore propound such also. I say then lastly, we are obliged in charity and good nature to this Duty.

And truly there is something of this in what I said but just now. Who will not think himself bound to pity, and as long as he lives pray for, those, whom his own Sins have provoked God to suffer to fall into Sin ? But to wave any such consideration : put the case, Kings were advanced so far above the race of Mankind, that they could not either through human frailty, or Gods vengeance on their peoples Sins, fall themselves into any sin, or do any thing amiss ; yet are they not thereby supposed impossible, or incapable of feeling.

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ing their proper miseries. And who knows not that all *Crowns* have their *Weight*, and I may say *their Thorns* too? Pardon that expression, who knows not? I must recall it: Indeed, none know the pressures of Crowns, but those who wear them. The infelicities of being in power (especially in the highest place of power) are greater than can be easily accounted: To make a good man great, is but to desire or necessitate him to be miserable for the publick Good: to say nothing of perpetual cares, waking nights, and thoughts (which the hearing of *Chronicles* read will not always divert) of the most poynant sense of publick Straits, national Affronts and a thousand things that will not enter into my head; this one misery is enough to make any earthly Throne eternally uneasy, that upon the poor Prince ever was and will be charged all publick Evils: either his male-administration, or some other his Personal guilt, is still cryed out of though he in the mean time be never so wise, vigilant, virtuous or innocent. Thus (1 *Sam.* xxx. 6) the *Amalekites* invade *Ziklag*, and carry the Women away captive, and the people instead of rescuing them talk of stoning David. These and such like miseries whoso consider, will surely
never

of Loyal Devotion. 29

never think he can pray too often for his King.

I might speak of *Obligations* from humane Laws: for humane Laws to this effect have there ever been, not only in Christian, but in Jewish and even in Heathen Countries: Thus *Darius*, when he ordered a kind of Endowment of the Jewish Temple; required that the *Priests* should offer *Sacrifices of sweet Savours* unto the God of Heaven, and pray for the Life of the King & his Sons. *Ezr. vi. 9, 10.* And it may be collected by parity of Reason, from *1 Macc. xii. 11.* as well as more expressly by what is above said out of *Iosephus*, that the Jews practised accordingly. The primitive Christians, we have seen, did it without any Imperial Laws, and *sine Monitore*: But what should I speak of such Laws amongst us? In a word, and to conclude the whole Evidence for this Duty. If there may be any Obligation laid upon us, which is not grounded upon *Scripture, Reason or humane Laws*; that is, upon *divine, moral or political Principles of Justice, Charity and Equity* (all which, it is plain, we have in the present case); then I shall confess, there is some Obligation wanting, which might have been laid upon us, to be assiduous or

F

in

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instant in Prayer for our King. But because if even new Grounds of Duties could be assigned, and humane Nature and Society should come hereafter to be regulated according to other measures than the World has hitherto known, yet these will be obligatory still: Therefore I must say after the Apostle, *I exhort that Supplications and Prayers, Intercessions and giving of Thanks be made for all men: For Kings, and them that are in Authority.*

And when I have in a very few words press'd the Practice of what I have hitherto been demonstrating to be our Duty, I shall conclude.

First therefore, in the name of God let none of us, in what capacity soever, whether private or publick persons, be wanting to this Duty. Be we what we will, we are or would be looked upon as Christians, or Friends to humane Society. We are not such, as plead for mens living wild and savage upon the face of the Earth. If we be not such, we are then concerned and held fast in the Tyes before-mentioned. Wherefore,

In those *publick Prayers* which the Church has provided for us, and most Christianly, according to the Apostolical

In-

of Loyal Devotion. 31

Injunction and primitive Pattern put into our mouths, let us be *cordial and sincere*: let them not pass over with us as matter of meer Form and Custom, but honestly engage our Hearts in zealous desires and fixt resolutions of Loyalty. I have heard it has been objected against our Liturgy, that Prayers for the King occur therein too often, that there is in this behalf a great deal of vain Repetition, a Fault taxed by our Lord in the Prayers of Heathens. It were an easie thing to vindicate our Service-Book from Tautology, even in this regard, were there now either Time or Need. In a word, there never comes two Prayers for the King in the same Office, of the same kind, or to the same purpose. And it is to be remembred, diverse kinds of Prayers are commanded; *Supplications, Petitions, Intercessions and giving of Thanks are to be made for all men: For Kings, and them in Authority.* Or if there were any such, yet new Affections still added to Prayers coming over again, at some distance, will as much make them new Prayers, as our Lords greater Earnestness in the Garden made the Prayer which he uttered the third time, in the same words;

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no vain Repetition. If we have any sparks of Reason in us, let us be ashamed of such pretences. We will tell the world, that what some scrupulous persons thus plead against our Liturgy, that it too frequently applies to God in behalf of the King, will ever, we hope, operate to the maintaining it. What these account its Fault, may be its and ours, and, if they will be of one piece with us, their Security. In the Name of GOD therefore let us devoutly hold to it: It will approve Us and our Religion to God and Men.

And again. *In private*, let us imitate the Primitive Christians; of our own accord, and *without any Remembrancer*, recommending our King, his Person, Government, Family, and Affairs (for so we have seen they did) to the Protection, and Guidance of the Almighty.

If after all I have said, I thought any thing wanting to press this Exhortation, I could add, what me thinks would put every one of us on our knees in this behalf as frequently before God as might be desired; namely, that we can take no more effectual course than this, to

fe-

of Loyal Devotion. 33

secure the Government of our King to be according to the Will of God: A thing we pretend so much to desire! *Prov. xxi. 1. The Heart of the King is in the Hand of the Lord: as the Rivers of Waters; he turneth it whithersoever he will.* If we were all to have our wishes in the behalf of the Kingdoms, there could no greater Blessing befall us, than to have our King a person *after Gods own Heart.* There is no way in the world to make him so, like our ardent and constant Prayers to God for him. Surely a King of so many Prayers cannot miscarry.

I will therefore conclude all with a *second Exhortation*, and that a little more limited to this present Day. I am sure there are few or none of us, who will not this Day before we sleep, perhaps several times, be praying, or at least say, *God bless the King.* Now, that our Prayers may be effectual this Day, I will exhort only, that we *keep our selves* all in such a *Temper*, as to be able *devoutly* and in a *true Christian Temper* to *pray so*, when we go to bed. I do not forbid eating our Meat, or drinking our Drink with Gladness and singleness

34 The Reasons & Need

of Heart, and wishing well to our King, his Subjects, and one another in so doing: But I caution all against Intemperance and Madnes. Is it Sense or Loyalty to be drunk for the King? Or, if the KING should see it, would He thank or commend or think the better of any man for it? For shame, Good Christian People, beware of such unreasonableness, such Barbarity. At the setting of *David* upon the Throne, *on the Holy Hill of Sion*, the Holy Ghost commands, *Serve the Lord with Gladness, and rejoyce with Trembling.* Psalm II. 11. I do not press so much as that comes to; Do but *rejoyce with Sobriety.* Rejoyce so, as not to provoke God; Rejoyce so, as that you may have Joy in the latter end. His Sacred Majesty, God be blessed, is far from approving, and all men say, even from conniving at Debauchery. As we cannot therefore thereby please Him; so it is certain, we are thereby sure to displease God. Let us therefore study, not only this Day, but all our Days, to maintain an holy, devout, serious Temper; being always fit and resolved by all Prayers and Supplication,
with

of Loyal Devotion. 35

with Thanksgiving, to make our Request known unto God. And the Peace of God, which passeth all Understanding, shall keep our Hearts and Minds through Christ Jesus.

To whom, with his Blessed Father, and the Eternal Spirit, be all Honour, Glory, &c.

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THE
WAY
TO
PEACE
AND
Publick Safety.

As it was Delivered in a

S E R M O N

In *Christs Church* in the City of *Cork*, and
elsewhere: in the heat of the late Re-
bellions of

Argile and Monmouth.

By *Edward Lord Bishop of Cork and Ross.*

Dublin, Printed by *A. Crook* and *S. Helsham*,
for *William Norman*, *Samuel Helsham* and
Eliphal Dobson Booksellers. 1686.

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Touching the Following

S E R M O N.

IN the Address of the Clergy
of the Diocess of Cork and
Ross (March 168⁴.) which I
had the Honour to pen, there was
made this sacred Promise; That
as our Lives were not dear
to us in comparifon of our
Religion and Loyalty, fo we
would not fail, though with
the peril of our Lives, by
the strictest ties of our Reli-
gion (which abhors all Resi-
stance

stance or Unfaithfulness to-
wards our Prince) to endea-
dour the securing to His
Majesty our peoples as well
as our own Loyalty and Obe-
dience. Pursuant to these Vows,
*I have ample proofs of my Bre-
threns Sedulity generally: And as
to my self, as I had not been for-
merly remiss, so when about the
20th of May following, Argiles
Rebellion in Scotland alarm'd us,
which (though, God be blessed,
both suddenly and happily sup-
prest) was seconded with that of
the late Duke of Monmouth in
the West of England, I thought
it was time to ply my Duty with
ingeminated Diligence, and to do
my utmost by all Instance and Im-
portunity, to confirm and keep sted-*
dy

dy in their Loyalty, as far as in
me lay, the whole body of my
Charge. I therefore went abroad,
several Sundays, to the most po-
pulous Congregations of my Dio-
cess, and in my Circuit, I preached
this same Sermon (I confess) three
several times; first in the City of
Cork, then at the Town of Kin-
sale, and lastly at the Town of
Bandon; all of them very great
Auditories. The iteration of it was
not from Idleness, but because I
could devise nothing else more close
and apposite to the conjuncture.
Yet is its Subject matter such, that
it is not, I conceive, still unseasona-
ble, and I fear, as long as the
world stands is not like to be. For
as long as there are vices and lusts
amongst men, there will be violati-

ons

ons of Peace in one kind or other.
Now this Sermon consists wholly
of Counsels and Directions for
securing and maintaining Peace
in all its several branches and
kinds. It might easily have been
dilated into a far larger bulk: but
few Readers (or indeed Hearers;
now adays) complain much of Bre-
vity: And in the present case, I
hope, it will be esteemed no fault
at all, because what I have said
on each Point is large enough, I
think, not to be obscure, and (I
hope) the whole not much more
defective, than an hours Discourse
on so copious a Subject must needs
prove.

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T H E
W A Y to P E A C E
A N D
Publick Safety.

As it was delivered in a SERMON in
Christs Church in Cork, and elsewhere,
in the heat of the late REBELLION
of *Argile* and *Monmouth*.

The TEXT.

1 Pet. III. 11. — *Seek Peace and ensue it.*

THe body of this Epistle, for the
main, consists of *Exhortations* and
Motives to several *Christian Du-*
ties : in the disposing of which *Exhortati-*
ons, or assigning to each their place, the
Holy Ghost seems to have proceeded
wholly arbitrarily, and to have observed
no other *Laws* or *Reasons* of their *Order*,
than meer good *Pleasure*.

2 The Way to Peace.

In the eighth Verse of this Chapter begins; as I compute, the eighth Exhortation; and it is to Unity in Judgment and Affection (but especially in Affection) and then to the proper Product hereof Sweetness in Conversation. Finally be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as Brethren, be pitiful. Some of the original terms are more emphatical than our English. What we render *having compassion one of another*, if we take compassion strictly, cannot be better rendred: but then by compassion we must understand sympathizing; or being of like affection one with another: as in *Rom. xii. 15. Rejoycing with them that rejoyce, and weeping with them that weep.* He goes on; *Love as Brethren.* Φιλᾶδελφοι [Be ye lovers of the Brethren.] *Be pitiful.* Ἐὐσπλαγχνοι [of easie bowels; i. e. be tender hearted;] so the self same word is more exactly rendred. *Ephes. iv. 32.*

Then as to the outward Product of such inward Temper, it follows, *Be courieous,* and *ver. 9. Not rendring Evil for Evil, or Railing for Railing: but contrariwise Blessing, knowing that thereunto are ye called, that ye should inherit a Blessing.*

Now to back, or further enforce, the latter part of this Exhortation, he brings in

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in, as a proof of what he had last said (namely, that peaceable and sweet tempered men should inherit a Blessing) two or three Verses out of the Old Testament (*Psal. xxxiv. 13.*) directing such Life and Temper as the true way to Blessedness, part of which citation is our present Text, *Seek Peace and ensue it.*

By which account thus given of the connexion of the Words, it appears, that amongst the several Christian Duties which concern us in order to present and future Happiness, (in order to inheriting the Blessing) the study of Peace is one of principal note. *Seek Peace*, say both the blessed Psalmist, and the Apostle, (and in them, both *Old Testament* and *New*) *if you would inherit the Blessing* promised in either.

The Words are not obscure, but yet emphatical; *Seek Peace*. If either Peace or the ways and methods to it should be obscure, or do not readily offer themselves, make it your business by diligent and assiduous search to find out both one and the other. And not only seek it, but ensue or pursue it. *Διωξτε το.* The word properly imports the following hard after that which flies. As if he had said, Though Peace should at any time seem upon the wing, to be gone out of the Countrey, or

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out of the World, yet pursue her still. Desist not from your endeavours to retrieve her, and if you cease not to *pursue*, you shall infallibly reach her here or in a better world.

To this passage of *David* and of *St. Peter*, it were easie to annex divers others as expresse to the same purpose, out of other parts of Holy Writ. Hear our Lord himself, *Mat. v. 9. Blessed are the Peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.* And if you remark it, most of the foregoing Beatitudes *Blessed be the poor in spirit*, that is, the humble and lowly minded, *Blessed be thee meek*, *blessed the merciful*, &c. are accommodable to the peaceable Spirit; which has a most intimate kindred with Meekness, Mercifulness, Humility and other like Christian Graces. Again, hear the Apostle *St. Paul*, *Rom. xii. 18. If it be possible, as much as in you lies* [*ὡς ἐξ ὑμῶν*, on your side, or as far as concerns you] *live peaceably with all men.* If any will not be at peace with you, let it be their fault, not yours. Yet again, *Hebr. xii. 14. Follow peace* (the same word as in the Text, *pursue peace*) *with all men, and holiness, without which no man shall see the Lord.* But why do I spend time in repeating what all know, and have daily in their mouths. To be short,

and puplick Safety. 5

short, the Commands are so explicit and plain, and have such Promises annexed to them, and withal so often repeated (in the Old Testament and in the New, by our Lord himself, by the Apostle of the Circumcision in the Text, by the Apostle of the Gentiles in the places mentioned, and by others elsewhere) that we must need account the Endeavour of Peace to be a Duty which the Holy Ghost has laid the greatest weight upon: nor can he style himself a Christian, who employs not this way his utmost power.

The rest of my Discourse therefore shall be taken up in recommending Directions for the more successful Practice of this Duty. And these shall be proportionate to the several sorts of Peace, and as neerly attempered to the present publick Circumstances and Necessities as I can.

Now in our setting forth, it will be meet to remember, that *Peace* may be opposed to *Discontent*, as well as to *Strife and War*. Those, who have inward Grudging and Dissatisfactions, are as far from some sort of *Peace*, as those who are engaged in actual or open Quarrels. And in both regards *Peace* is either *publick*, *private* or *secret*. And the publick *Peace* again is either *Civil* or *Ecclesiastical*.

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First then as to *Publick Civil Peace*. By Gods great Blessing we enjoy this here, while our Neighbors every where, on the other sides of the Water, are embroiled. For ever blessed be our good God, who has singled us out as the peculiar Objects of this his Mercy at present, yet let *us* study *Peace* also, that is, endeavour to keep it. And to this purpose I can give no better directions than these following.

1. Maintain entire and unspotted *Loyalty*. I hope I shall not need much to press this Advice, especially in this place. The Commands for Subjection and Loyalty are as expresse in Scripture, as are these for Peace, but just now mentioned: only it would divert us too much from our present purpose to alledge them now. And I must tell you, it is the peculiar *Glory* of the *Reformation* of the *Church of England*, that as it was made by an happy Consent and Union of the Royal and Ecclesiastical Power of the Realm, so the *Professors* of it can never be taxed in any points either of *resisting* or *deserting* their *Prince*. In all the Wars since the Reformation, in all the Plots, old and new, not one true *Church of England-man* to be found all along; before any fell into such designs, they were either leavened with Fanaticism,

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and publick Safety. 7

and secretly fallen off from the Principles and Unity of our Church, or open Apostates from her; else they were never of us. This might be proved by particulars: but such proof is not for this Office, or place; only from what I have said I will infer, if there should be any person here *staggering in his Loyalty*, much more if a Defertor of it, though yet but secretly, that such person is neither *Christian* nor *Protestant*, whatever he pretends. He's fallen off from his Christianity, which commands Subjection and loyal Adhesion: And he's as much fallen off from the establisht reformed Church, which ever taught and practised both Loyalty and Non-resistance: witness our Book of Homilies and our Canons. But I will quit this head, as hoping it to be needless here long to be insisted on.

2. In order to keeping and maintaining the publick Peace, let every one be diligent in his own business, and *keep within the bounds of his own Calling*. This also is an expresse Command in Scripture, 1 Cor. vii. 20. *Let every one abide in the same Calling wherein he was called*. And perhaps if any one were to define the Peace we are now speaking of, (*viz.* Publick Civil Peace) he could not give a better or

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plainer account of it, than by saying, It is the general Agreement or Concord of all sorts of men in doing each his own business. From which foundation it must necessarily follow, that what I advise is one of the surest methods of Peace possible. But I will quit the positive part, and on the contrary only tell you, what is a great but sad truth, that the Pragmatical Humour, which is abroad, much disturbs the Peace, at least one kind of it, the Quiet of mens Minds, throughout the Country. It creates Jealousies over us, and that too most justly in the minds of our Governours. What have we to do with modelling State Affairs, or enquiring into publick Councils, which yet is the common Entertainment of every petty Club, nay almost at all other Meetings of men, except it be in Church; and 'tis well if some totally forbear it even here. Hear you, my Brethren! will not our own Callings, common or Christian (of the discharge of both which, one day we must give an Account) find us work enough? If I am an Artificer or a Tradesman, there is no doubt of it: one thing or other in my way I may find regularly to employ me. And there's encouragement for it; *Prov. xxii. 29. Seest thou a man diligent in*

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and publick Safety. 9

his Business, he shall stand before Kings, he shall not stand before mean men. But observe; it must be Diligence in his Business, in that which is own, not anothers Business. If I am a Gentleman, I have an Estate to manage, and Servants to look after, Accounts to take: besides I perhaps have some publick Trust or Business of my Countrey. Are all these faithfully or sufficiently attended and heeded? If they be, I have further a Soul of mine own, an excellent Being, to improve in Knowledge and in Virtue. Am I so happy in my Education, or even in my natural Endowments, that I can find no Books which I can read with advantage, no Studies Historical, Mathematical, or even Mechanical, which I can entertain my self in? I may hereby accomplish my self for the Service of my Country, or of my self and Friends, be sure of my Soul and of my God: If not these, there are after due Devotion and common Business done, there are, I say, Countrey Divertisements which may innocently imploy some hours: Any thing rather than Sin, rather than do a publick Mischief, that is, be acting out of my Calling. Again, if I am a Minister, have I not work enough? Or indeed, when I have well bethought my self, have I any
leisure?

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leisure? Alas! indeed, my work is, as my reward, if faithful; or as my punishment, if otherwise, endless. To conclude this Point: If we have all of us, of what state or degree soever, full employment in the way God has put us; let us not embroil our selves and the World by meddling with what belongs not to us, or in none of our business.

It may be thought I have forgotten here that there are not a few Men (at least Abroad, or up and down in the Countrey) who have no Calling at all, who wear good Cloaths, go Gent (as some speak) ride good Horses, and are otherwise accoutred; Now how will this Direction comprehend or suit them? Truly not at all: These hear me not, I presume, nor have I any thing to do with such Outlyers. But I conceive the Laws, which were designed for our publick Peace take notice of these People, and it is the duty of Magistrates and Persons in publick Trusts to take notice of them, and secure them, as being matter prepared and ready dryed for publick Flames and Combustions. And in saying thus much I am still but upon the same Point. I presume this is part of the Magistrates Duty and Calling, whom certainly it especially concerns,

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cerns, as they tender the publick Peace, to mind, attend, and be diligent in the business of their Calling : And perhaps this part may be as seasonable at present as any.

3. As a farther means of maintaining Peace, Let us *avoid the Company*, at least the *Familiarity*, of men of *Turbulent Spirits*. This indeed is but prudence, in regard of our own private safety : For we have late Instances enough before us, what fatal Ends the Conversation and Society of unquiet designing *Achitophels* has brought many (perhaps formerly) Vertuous Persons to. But I do not now advise this caution in that regard, (though I say in that regard it is adviseable, and Counsel that ought to be taken) : But as a means to preserve the publick Peace amongst us. For let but Pragmatical or Turbulent Agitators be avoided, let them *stand alone*, and see the World dare not trust them, or will have nothing to do with them, and they will either be discouraged or disabled from doing Mischief. *They can do no hurt, as long as they are alone.* And I pray you Brethren, esteem this a part of your Duty, as well as Interest : For hear the Apostle, *2 Thess. iii. 6. Now we command you, Brethren, in the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ,*
(observe

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(observe both his Earnestness and Sweetness, Brethren, saith he, *In the Name of the Lord Jesus Christ, we Command you*) that ye withdraw your selves from every Brother that walketh disorderly, and not after the Tradition which ye received of us : Now can any single act be more disorderly, that is, as the Apostle himself explains his own Term, more contrary to the Tradition or Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles; than for men to be undermining or unhinging Governments; designing against, and resisting Kings, engaging themselves and others in Rebellious Wars. Did Christ, did the Apostles any where such things? Or did they teach, advise, or encourage any such practises, or not rather the direct contraries? Subjection, Obedience, Peaceableness, *Giving Caesar his due*, as well as *God his*; was both their Doctrine and Practice. Give me leave to use a plain Similitude to enforce this Point. Put the case it were now a very infectious contagious time (as, God be blessed, it is not here) let me ask you, if any one of you knew, such or such a particular person to be tainted with the Plague, or to have it upon him, would you lye in his Bosom, would you hang upon his Mouth, would you suffer him to breath on you, or would you

and publick Safety. 13

you suck in his Breath impregnated with the Plague-Venome? Or rather, would you not desire he might be sent away to a Pest-house, and kept from spreading the Contagion? At least you would keep aloof from him your selves. My Brethren, this is the very case. These little Caballing Politicians of the Age, have a most pestilient Infection about them, a seditious, unquiet, pragmatistical Spirit, and 'tis very catching. They are indeed the common Plague of the three Nations; wherefore avoid them: Let them dwell alone, till Shame and Penitence shall make them wholesome, and fit for humane Society.

4. If the former Direction cannot be perfectly practised by any, but such Serpents will slipperily insinuate themselves into your Company; be sure then, as soon as you know them, to discover both them, and whatever you know of their Projects & Councils, & that immediately. In the name of God let nothing of this kind sleep with you. Let not that false opinion of I know not what vain honour, which has made some men, to their costs, shy of impeaching others, betray you to conceal what may operate to your own and the publick Ruine. Certainly, my King, my Countrey, the Church, or (if these be less dear to any) my

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my Family and my self, ought to be loved first, and before any particular Friend or Associate. Consult therefore chiefly the welfare of these ; And I pray you remember, *concealing Treason is Treason*, not only by the Laws of *England*, but by the *Old Judicial Law* amongst the Jews, which derived from *God* himself. According to this Divine Law, or [the *Mishpat Ham-meluchah*] the Statutes of the Kingdom, a Book written by *Samuel* at the command of *God*, and said to be laid up before the Lord, 1 Sam. x. 25. *Saul* pronounces them guilty of High-Treason, *who knew when David fled and did not shew it*, 1 Sam. xxii. 17. And his Sentence had undoubtedly been just, had either *David* or the Priests been guilty of the matter of Fact, charged respectively on them : Even the principles of common reason and justice, the grounds of all good Laws, will conclude as much. Wherefore we ought to look upon it as a matter against good Conscience, as well as against Prudence and Common Law, to conceal such treasonable discourses or designs as come to our knowledge.

5. Spread not those Idle Stories or Suspicions which go up and down of publick Dangers. If you can in the beginning trace them to their head, to any true or probable

and publick Safety. 15

ble Original, so as to fix them on their malicious Authors, do so; and as before said, discover them. Then in all likelihood; you have put an end both to the Lye and its Mischief: You have crusht the Cockatrice in its Egg. Otherwise, know they are devised by cunning and ill-affected Men, and put into Fools Mouths to report, that the Devisers may take their advantages of those reports, either by affixing their own Malice on innocent Men, or by gaining some plausible pretence for the Spleen they would wreak; so that they may be able, when time comes, with some colour, to call *Spire* and *Wrong* by the names of *Justice* or *Self-Defence*. In *Levit. xix. 16.* we have a peculiar precept, which explains the ninth Commandment fitly to our present purpose. *Thou shalt not go up and down as a Talebearer amongst thy People, nor shalt thou stand against the Blood of thy Neighbour.* To spread Reports and Tales is one of the most mischievous kinds of bearing false witness. And there are *publick Talebearers* as well as private ones. Truly there are some that seem to make it, not so much a Trade as the Business of their Lives: they catch up all the Rumours that are going, and have their Customers;

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Customers both to bring them in, and to vent them too. These people are ill members both of Church and State. Particularly, I cannot but take notice of a Story very fresh and brisk in the Country; *That the English are combining in a design to rise and cut all the Throats of the Irish*: And on the other side, many of the *English* are told, and believe, as much of the *Irish* towards them. What are these but Devices of wicked men, or of the Devil by them, to put us upon the imbruing our hands mutually in one anothers Bloud. On neither side, in the present circumstances of both, is the thing either *probable*, or so much as *possible*. As to the *English*, was there ever yet such a thing heard of, upon the face of the Earth, as a Massacre by *Protestants*? Those men who know our Religion, know the Principles of our Religion will not suffer it. Nay further, it is not *possible* at present, as were easie to shew. 'Tis well if we are able to defend our selves. Is it not a pleasant thing to see in a Parish between three or four hundred people ly by night out of their Houses, for fear of two or three Families, in which there are not Seven persons able to bear Arms? For shame let not people suffer themselves to be thus abused. Then

And publick Safety. 17

as to the other side, touching the rumoured danger of a Massacre upon the *English* by the *Irish*. Is not this, at present, a plain, abominable Device to put us together by the Ears? set on foot by them who desire an advantage against us, to the end that if by these affrightments they can tempt any weak persons of us to any irregular actions, they may more justly seek occasion of Revenge by their own hands, or otherwise accuse and misrepresent us. I confess, this is out of my Province a little; but I could not forbear it. For Gods sake, and our Countreys sake, and our own sake, let us all joyn together to bring to light the Authors of these Reports; but however let us not suffer our selves to be so far ridden by them, as to be their Juments, or Beasts of burden, to carry such forged Wares up and down the Countrey.

Sixthly, as another Preservative of publick Peace, I take it to be good Advice, that we pass not bad Interpretations on the Acts of the Government: a fault that more people are guilty of, then I am willing so much as to characterize. I pray you remember, Charity ever requires us to think the best, 1 Cor. xiii. 5, 6, 7. *Charity thinketh no evil, rejoyceth not in iniquity,* (which as appears by the opposites, may be interpreted

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preted maketh not advantage of falshoods) *but rejoyceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things* (does not readily give men up for desperate and incorrigible) *endureth all things*, or grows not impatient upon every matter of suspicion, that offers it self. Some haply will say, this Text treats only touching the Duties of private Charity towards one another. Be it so: but do I owe all these Offices of Charity to each private man, and not to the most considerable body of men which I can pick out in the Kingdoms, to Magistrates and Governours? To deal more roundly; Must I have Charity for every particular man, yea even for Enemies, and none for my King and his Council? To be short then, if we love the publick Peace, let us neither make ill constructions our selves of publick Actions, nor silently admit them, when we hear them made by others. Let us at least profess our Charity, and that we hope better, than some interpret, or others fear.

Lastly, and to conclude all the advice on this Head, for the possessing our own and one anothers minds with Quiet; Let us remember, what I have formerly prest, *God rules over all.* His hand is in all. And let us be content he should govern. Here-
with

and publick Safety. 19

with let us still any risings in our minds. Herewith let us silence others. 'Tis a wholesome stop to put to the jealous Surmises and Discourses of those who delight in ill Presages, God governs all, God is Judge himself. In the mean while, let us endeavour to mold our Minds into a perfect Submission to the Divine Disposal, still trusting God, and hoping the best; for God be blessed, I say again, we see yet no other reason. And thus far as to Methods for preserving the Publick Civil Peace.

It may here perhaps be expected that I say something as to the *Publick Peace of the Church*: God be blessed, also in this kind, we are much quieter here, than are others in other places. My meaning is, those, who are not of us, at least hereabouts, are not yet so insolent as to disturb us. However to speak out in this case. I know but one effectual way to restore more perfect Peace to our Church here, or to preserve what we have at present, and 'tis this; That those who *call themselves Protestants* would *unite in Religion or publick Worship*, and be all of one piece; I mean, that the several sorts of Dissenters would come in to the publick established Church: for mine own part, I am amazed to see, that any

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of them who have but a fair pretence to Sobriety, should in our present circumstances stand out. As to the Enthusiastical part of them, there can be no Action of theirs which a man ought to wonder at: for be it never so wild, it is still agreeable to the Measures they have taken. But that Men should allow our *Doctrine* to be sound, our *Worship* so far forth pure, that they can with good Conscience joyn therein, our *Sacraments* valid, so as that they do and must derive their being Members of Christs visible Church from hence, that they or their Principals were baptized in our Church, and in a word, *our Church* to have reformed from all gross Corruption, and yet that they should think themselves bound in Conscience to separate from us, to set up themselves against us, (Church against Church, Altar against Altar) to the weakening both of themselves and us; and all this in a time when none cry out more than themselves of publick Dangers for want of Unity: this, I must again profess, makes me stand amazed. In such exigences will they allow nothing to be sacrificed to publick Peace? Nothing to publick Safety? They must needs see by their own Obstinacy they have put it out of our hands to help them: and will they not-

and publick Safety. 21

notwithstanding still continue their Separation? I have at other times put the Question, whom, or what Church will they join with, if they still remain separate from us? Will they ever be *Straglers*, unfix'd, without Form, Government, or any manner of Union and Coalition? In the name of God, if nothing else, let what they are still crying out of the publick Dangers (if they believe themselves that there are such) let, I say, their Sense of the publick Danger drive them to take refuge in the Arms of their forsaken Mother, which are ever open to receive them. I will add no more. This is the only mean of any tolerable Ecclesiastical Peace, which I can think of amongst us here. And the good God *unite our hearts to fear him, and love one another,* and then this Counsel will soon take effect.

I am now to proceed to *private Peace*, and the methods probable to it. By private Peace I mean, Peace in the Neighbourhood, and Peace in the Family. This certainly ought to be pursued and sought by all; to be restored if violated, and maintained if on foot or in present being. I will not say that such private Discords are always or ordinarily the grounds of publick Broils: but I may say most truly they

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prepare men for them. When men are discontent at home, or in the Neighbourhood, they are ready for any turbulent and desperate Employment, which may capacitate them to revenge themselves, or serve to divert their uneasie Condition. If there be at any time publick Disturbances arising, any person setting up new Titles, Interests or Designs, then every one that is in debt, every one that is discontent, every one that is in distress gathers themselves unto such or such a Pretender, and *he becomes a Captain over them.* 1. *Sam. xxii.* 2. It was so then, and this I verily believe at present arms more Rebels of of the common sort, than any thing else: Men exhaust their Estates, neglect their Callings, run a gadding after I know not what or whom, by such means become engaged in private Quarrels, or in wants and straits, and then War is an admirable Refuge for them. And to palliate all, 'tis the easiest thing in the world to play the Hypocrite, and pretend the *Cause of God and Religion*, when all that is at bottom is only *Rapine or Revenge.* Wherefore it being not at all out of the way to publick Peace, to provide for keeping the private, admit a few words thereof.

And the first means hereto, is for men
to

and publick Safety. 23

to be *fully and honestly* employed. It would be much for the Happiness and Quiet of every Neighbourhood and Family, if as every one has, or may find, a Calling (though some of more liberal Employments than others) so every one would, as before advised, be assiduous and diligent therein. *Ne nil ageretur amavit*, sometimes & in some kind comes to pass. One sort of people when they have nothing to do fall in love; but others fall a quarrelling with their Neighbours, become Tatlers, Bussibodies; or it may be fall into little Clubs, grow debauch'd, frequently tipples or somewhat like it, and then their tongues walk throughout the Earth; by which courses they breed more Quarrels and Mischief then can easily be thought of. Plenty, Ease, Wantonness and Idleness have produced this Humour; Industry, Business, Labour and Sobriety would soon cure it, and lay the foundations of private Peace.

Secondly, Learn and resolve on so much Christianity as to *contemn and pardon small Offences*: I am sure our Lord commands this or more. *Matth. v. 39. Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also*: that is, be so far from revenging a small wrong, such as a single Box of the Ear, as rather by thy Patience, to expose

thy self to a second, accordingly as he does, who turns his cheek to receive another. And I pray you consider the reasonableness of not meditating Revenge, or exacting punctual Satisfaction in all such small injuries or affronts. Is the Vindication of thy self, or gaining Right in so trivial points worth the inquietude of mind, the disturbance and turmoil it costs? most times also it requires more than merely work of Thought to right our selves; so that I may truly say, the Satisfaction, if justly estimated, will not quit a mans pains to get it.

Thirdly, If you would have your Families and Neighbourhood in Peace, be not *curiously inquisitive* into others actions and affairs: for they, who are so, create to themselves and Neighbours perpetual Concernments, unnecessary Business, and in the end Differences and Disquiet: They who will be knowing what every one does or says, shall never be at peace either in themselves or with their Neighbours. This inquisitive Humour is a sore and frequent evil, so frequent that in most Cities or populous Towns there are several Houses, whither a man may go and be informed better of the little affairs of his own Family, Children and Ser-

and publick Safety. 25

Servants, than he himself is able to report. An accursed Quality this, and which generally proceeds from a very ill Nature, and therefore it is no wonder if it be of so ill a Tendency, as I have affirm'd it: but should it spring only from impertinent Curiosity, it ought to be curbed by us in our selves and others. *Eccles. vii.*

21. Take no heed unto all words that are spoken, lest thou hear thy Servant curse thee: that is, as the phrase signifies with the Hebrews, speak slightly, dishonourably or reproachfully of thee. For oftentimes also thine own heart knoweth that thou thy self hast cursed others. These little Offences are

ordinary, and of common course; nor canst thou but be sensible that thou hast many a time done as much as this comes to by others, that are as much thy betters, as thou art superiour to thy Servants. And if it be not prudence, according to the Wisemans Judgment, to take heed of such matters, then much more neither will it be virtuous to

search out iniquities, yea to accomplish a diligent search after

other mens manners, who are to stand or fall to their own Masters. We are to account, it is not likely we should be able to reform all that is amiss in the world:

26 The Way to Peace

we shall surely disquiet our selves, and exasperate others against us, by our prying into things that do not concern us. *Tecum habita*——— Examine and reform thy self, and it will both bring and maintain thee peace.

Fourthly, Let me add, as another mean to private Peace, what is much akin to the former Advice, *Listen not to Tale-bearers*. There is scarce any Friendship so strong, which a Generation of Tatlers will not sever. *Prov. xvi. 28. A Whisperer separateth chief Friends*; and the former part of the verse tells us how he does it, namely, *by sowing strife*. It is no wonder therefore if in Neighbourhoods, where the ties of mutual Love are, God knows, too too weak, (where it is well if one Family have not a Jealousy over another) one Tatling person makes more Feuds than an hundred wise or good men can compose. Let such persons therefore be banished out of that House, where it is desired Peace should dwell: at least, give them not the encouragement to hear their Stories; for that both begets and fosters them. This very one Advice constantly practised would go very far to quiet many places: For where there is no Wood the Fire goeth out, so where there is no Tale-bearer

and publick Safety. 27

bearer the strife ceaseth, (*Prov. xxvi. 20.*) And if Strife cease, Peace therefore must needs ensue.

Lastly, if at any time Displeasure or ground of Discord be conceived by thee against any Friend or Neighbour, esteem the Wisemans Counsel in such case both Christian and Prudent. (*Prov. xxv. 9.*) *Debate thy Cause with thy Neighbour thy self, and discover not a secret to another.* Perhaps the matter of fact, which thou hast heard of thy Neighbour, or of thy Friend, is not true: This friendly Conference will bring all to light, and prevent misapprehension. If it be true, perhaps it was a slip, the effect of some passion or disorder; and the honest man will be sorry for it, and give thee satisfaction: If so, *then thou hast gained thy Brother*: instead of an Enemy thou hast him for ever a firmer Friend. This is it which the Son of *Sirach*, following *Solomons* steps, most excellently adviseth. (*Ecclesiasticus xix. 13, 14, 15.*) *Admonish a Friend, it may be he hath not done it: and if he have done it, that he do it no more. Admonish thy Friend, it may be he hath not said it: and if he have, that he speak it not again. Admonish a Friend, for many times it is a Slander, and believe not every Tale.* If this Advice were more practised, in fit and meet

28 The Way to Peace

meet seasons, in convenient place and other due circumstances, many fallings out amongst Friends and Neighbours would need no other Umpire to end them, but the poor penitent Offender himself. And thus far as to what I stiled *private Peace*, and the means thereto.

The third sort of Peace yet remains, and it is of great consequence; *Secret Peace*, the Peace of a mans own Breast. A Jewel worth purchasing at any rate: and by the following means it may surely be obtained.

First. Allow thy self in *no known sin*, nor so much as in any practice which thou hast reason to *suspect* for sinful: For (*Rom. xiv. 23.*) *Whatsoever is not of Faith is Sin*; that is, whatsoever at any time thou doest, which thou art not assured in Conscience thou mayest lawfully do, is at least to thee a sin. Immediately therefore, if thou intendest to have a quiet Mind, break off every sinful or suspicious practice, to which thou hast addicted thyself.

Secondly. With *Sorrow of Heart* for what is past, cast thy self on Gods *mercy* for Pardon through the Sacrifice of Christ Jesus on his Cross. Fly for Refuge to this Hope set before us; *Hebr. vi. 18.*

These

and publick Safety. 29

These things, saith St. John, I write to you that you sin not; But if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins. 1 Joh. II. 1, 2. Our first care should be not to sin: but if (even after our former Repentance) we are again overtaken with sin, and such which wounds the Conscience, the next care must be to betake our selves to our Propitiation: and it is his Promise, In me ye shall have Peace. Joh. xvi. 33.

Thirdly. Whosoever thou art, that desirest Peace of Conscience, *suffer not any scruple long to lie upon thee: If thou canst not by Prayer and private Thought, or some like way remove it thy self, immediately crave Help: Wounds which go long unbound up, are most difficult to heal, and sometimes, by continued neglect, grow incurable. Whereas therefore Christ has appointed and provided Ministers of Peace and Reconciliation, make use of their private Ministry as well as their publick.*

Lastly. Of all Evils, beware of such which may any wise involve thee in *Bloud-guiltiness*. I have heard it reported of the Garments of some Murderers, that the
Spots

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Spots of the Bloud they spilt could never be washt out of them: and I have been shewed a Sword, out of which, as has been affirm'd to me, the Skill and Pains of all the Sword-Dressers could never work the Stain of Bloud. Be those things how they shall, it is most sure the Guilt of Bloud sticks deep on every Conscience where it once fixeth. It is very hardly purged or got off from mens Minds, who have any Consciences. Wherefore it is no less necessary even to Peace in your selves, than to Peace in the Kingdom, that you listen not to the Counseils or Seductions of men, who are so ready for Wars. Account them to be what they are, the Plague and Reproach of Christian Nations, to be avoided and abhorred by all good men. But I must conclude, and I will trust we have none of this kind of men amongst us: If you find any of them, remember the course before prescribed, neither to be of their Councils, nor to keep what you know unconcealed.

I have thus endeavoured faithfully to set before you the way to Peace; to Peace in the Kingdom, and in the Church; to Peace in the Neighbourhood, and in the Family: and finally to Peace with God
in

and publick Safety. 31

in our own Consciences. The God of Peace make us all careful in the Practice of what has been said, and crown us all with the Blessing of such Peace.

To him be all Honour
and Glory now and
for ever. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

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True Religion
AND
LOYALTY
Inseparable.

The *Nature* of both opened,
and their *Connexion* proved.

IN A
SERMON

Preached at *Bandon*, in the County of *Cork*,
in the Heat of

Donmouths Rebellion;

And afterwards elsewhere.

By *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Cork* and *Rosse*.

Dublin, Printed by *A. Crook* and *S. Helsham*,
for *William Norman*, *Samuel Helsham* and
Eliphal Dobson Booksellers. 1686.

282.08

Advertisement

Of this

S E R M O N

THIS Sermon I preached
twice: the first time, in
the form 'tis now in, at Ban-
don; while the late Rebelli-
on in the West of England
beld the Minds of People even
on this side the Water in no lit-
tle Pain. The second time in
I Christ

Christ-Church Cork, on Sunday August 23. which fell into the time of the Assizes here, and was the Day of Publick Thanksgiving for His Majesties late Victories. I made then some small Alterations in it, in part hinted in the Margin of the Book: but chiefly I omitted, the second Objection with its Answers wholly, because I did not think there was then so much occasion for it, as when I preached this Sermon the Month before: And I added a little considerably in the end of it, to make it more suitable to the Occasion. I particularly press'd that part of Honour to the King, which I had

had assigned to consist in Prayers of all kinds, and so in Praising God in his behalf. I urged this last point of Praise by consideration,

First, Of the Opportuneness of the Victory. It was not too soon. Had it been speedier, some probably would have said, the Attempt was contemptible, and the whole had no danger in it. Others would have still vaunted their Numbers, and have said, as far as they durst, they were surpris'd; they had not time to gather and come in. A third sort would perhaps have suggested, the

Church of England Protestants
had not time to shew themselves, they would have struck in had there been space. We had time, God be blessed, to shew ourselves, and did: and not an hand amongst us against our King; but all as one Man for him.

Nor, on the other side, was it too late. The Kingdom laboured not so long under it, as to tast the Miseries of a continued Civil War. We felt a gentle Correction, and no punitive Vengeance. In a word, it was in Gods time, and that

that is ever the best.

Secondly, (*I considered*) the Entireness of the Victory, and with how little Effusion of Blood obtained; especially on the side of the just Cause.

From *these* Two Heads chiefly, *I, in more words, endeavoured then, to quicken Gratitude and Loyalty. I see no occasion to report here the whole I then added: but I thought fit to give this Intimation, to the end that none who were Hearers of this Sermon when preached the second time, might have reason to complain, the printed Sermon*

has more or less in it, than
when delivered from the Pul-
pit.

[A large, dark, scribbled-out area, possibly a signature or heavily crossed-out text.]

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ul.

Religion and Loyalty
INSEPARABLE;

The *Nature* of both opened,
and their *Connexion* proved.

In a SERMON preached at *Bandon*
in the County of *Cork*, in the Heat of
Monmouths Rebellion, and afterwards
elsewhere.

The TEXT.

1 Pet. II. the later part of the 17th Verse.
Fear God, honour the King.

WE find this Epistle to be entitled
The Epistle general of St. Peter ;
not inscribed as are *St. Pauls*,
To the *Romans* , To the *Corinthians* , To
the *Galathians*, or the like ; but *General* ,
I 4 that

2 Religion and Loyalty

that is, to all Christian People, chiefly indeed designed to the dispersed Christian Jews, to the Strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia, (cap. I. 1.) but not so particularly to them, as to exclude the Gentile Christians, amongst whom they lived, and whether they were scattered. (For such early was the Condition of the Christian Church, that its Members really were, and so most naturally might be stiled, *Παρακείμενοι διασποράς* scattered Strangers or Pilgrims of the Dispersion). From which Inscription it follows that the Duties here prescribed and pressed must be of general concernment and obligation to all Christian Ages, Nations, Sexes and Conditions whatsoever.

The Epistle it self consists, as I have lately on another occasion noted unto you, of sundry Exhortations to particular Christian Duties, and of Enforcements or Persuasives to them.

The Text is part of the Amplification of the seventh Duty herein pressed, namely, of Subjection and Obedience to the Powers God has set over us. *Ver. 13. Submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lords sake*, in which passage one expression must be warily understood, for

Govern-

inseparable.

3

Government it self is from God: But it is the form, manner, or particular frame of Government in every Kingdom or Nation, which he calls *'Αἰσχρονομία ἀνθρώπων*, a *Creature of Mans*, an Human Constitution. Now, saith he, submit to every of these for the Lords sake; *Whether it be to the King as Supream.* This indeed was the first Form of Government in the World: nor can, as far as I see, any other Form of Government be proved to be of Gods appointment (*mero motu*) of his own accord and free pleasure, as we speak, ever from the beginning. (For Moses was King in Jeshurun, when the Heads of the People and Tribes of Israel were gathered together. Deut. xxxiii. 5. And the introducing the seventy Elders, and so reducing the Form of the Government of Israel into a kind of Republick, was upon the importunity and some degree of impatience of Moses, Numb. xi. 11, 12, &c. at which God seems there not to be well pleased. As neither indeed was he when the same sickle people afterwards acquiesced not even in that Government by their Elders. But to return.) This same Exhortation he amplifies and presses, ver. 14, 15. and so on till in ver. 17. he concludes its general part in these words,

Fear

4 Religion and Loyalty

Fear God, honour the King.

Wherein are two Duties manifestly in-joyned us, one to God, *Fear God*. The other to the King, *Honour the King*.

Of *each* of these we will treat, first *singly, or apart*; then of the *Connexion of both*, which I affirm to be so far constant (at least of the one side) and so indissoluble, that *whosoever does fear God will honour the King*.

I begin with the *first* of these (*the Fear of God*) not only because it stands first in my Text, but also because it is in order of Nature the truest and only sure foundation of the other. All Duties towards men, when sincerely payed, must have their foundation in our Dutifulness towards God. When our Lord had occasion to touch on the true and natural Order of Christian Duties, he tells us this is the *first and great Commandment* (Matth. xxii. 37, 38.) that we love the Lord our God with all our Heart, with all our Mind, with all our Soul, and with all our Strength. And the second is, That we love our Neighbour as our selves; teaching us hereby, that we can never love our Neighbour as we should do, except first we most entirely love God. The loving God with all our hearts can only sweeten and influence our Souls
into

into an universal Charity. And proportionably in the present case, the Fear of God can alone implant in our hearts universal and invariable Loyalty. And therefore I must confess I cannot see, how vicious men can be true Loyalists. Natural Love, Education, Interest, Fear, and other like causes may beget and nourish a short temporary and partial Allegiance. The vilest men may be *subject for Wrath*, but good men only will be subject, as the Holy Ghost directs, *for Conscience sake*. And such Loyalty will be impartial, indefectible, and eternally cordial. Briefly therefore in the first place of the Fear of God. Now by the *Fear of God* we are to understand, *such a constant Sense or Aw of God, of his Sovereign Dominion, Power, Omniscience and Justice, as restrains us from Sin, and quickens us to Duty*. The Fear of God therefore [first] *supposes* most deeply rooted in our hearts a *real Belief of his Being*, and a *sober Knowledge of his Nature*. He who doubts whether there be a God, or is either ignorant or dubious of the truth of his infinite Perfections, can never have in his heart a true Fear of him. For as that Fear presupposes, I say, such Understanding and Belief, so [secondly] it *consists in* (at least most proximately and immediately

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mediately flows from or depends upon) a constant (actual or virtual) Attention to what we thus understand and believe of him. The thoughts of him, and of these his Perfections are generally, ever and anon recurring, and by that means habitually fixed in the mind. The Thoughts I mean,

1. Of his Sovereign Dominion and Authority over all. He alone is King of Nations (Jerem. x. 7.) supream and most absolute over all Peoples, and Kingdoms, and Languages; and over each individual Man. And therefore who shall not fear before thee, O thou King of Nations, for to thee it doth appertain; forasmuch as amongst all the wise men of the Nations, and in all their Kingdoms, there is none like unto thee.

2. Together herewith do the thoughts of his Omniscience (or actually knowing all things) possess the heart; for begetting in it that Temper which we call the Fear of God, Psalm cxxxix. 2, 3, 4, 6. Thou knowest my down-sitting and mine up-rising, thou understandest my thoughts afar off; thou compassest my path and my lying down, and art neer unto all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Such Knowledge is too wonderful for me, it is high, I cannot attain

unto it. In other words, it is not possible for any of us so intimately to know out our selves, as God knows us. I cannot tell what I shall think, or what I shall not think to morrow, perhaps not an hour hence. But God *knoweth my thoughts while they are yet afar off*. He by one simple incomprehensible act sees all things, persons and actions, past, present and to come. And whereas the *Heart of man is deceitful and desperately wicked*, so that a man himself knows not all the Wickedness of his own heart; *The Lord searcheth the Hearts, and tryeth the Reins of the Children of Men*, all their Counsels and Contrivances, all their hidden acts of Malice or Concupiscence are open and bare to him. And therefore who can but fear before him? Especially considering, what also is another ingredient or ground to the Fear of God.

3. That this same Omniscient God is also *most just and holy*. Most holy, so as that he can no wise approve or allow Sin. *Habbak I. 13. Thou art of purer Eyes than to behold Evil, and canst not look on Iniquity*: that is, God most perfectly abhors it. And therefore he will most certainly punish it, where persisted in, or not repented of. *Rom. II. 6, 8, 9. He will render*

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to every man according to his deed, to them that are contentious and do not obey the Truth, but obey Unrighteousness, Indignation and Wrath, Tribulation and Anguish upon every Soul of man that doeth evil. Yea, so severe is Gods hatred of Sin, that sometimes when upon mens Repentance, he forgives their sin as to the eternal punishments, he yet in his Wisdom and Justice sees fit to inflict upon them here some temporary punishments. *Psalm xcix. 8. Thou answerest them, O Lord our God, thou wast a God that forgavest them, though thou tookest vengeance of their Inventions: which whoso considers must certainly fear before this holy God.*

Add hereto, lastly, the attending to, or consideration of his infinite *Might & Power*. As he hath resolved and will bring every work into Judgment, with every secret thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil, (*Eccles. vii. last.*) so is he able to effect it. No Malefactors can possibly fly from, or escape this Judge: he has Emisseries enough (millions of Angels good and bad) to fetch all in. And all shall appear before the Judgement-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, *2 Cor. v. 10.*

Let us now put all these together: Ad-
mit

inseparable. 9

mit a man believes and actually thinks, there is a great and glorious Majesty, un-
seen indeed, but seeing all, who is Lord
of Heaven and Earth, and all in them;
this God is most holy and most just, both
resolved and able to bring all things into
Judgment, even to the very imaginations
of the thought of mens hearts; must not
there needs amount hence a most pro-
found Aw and Dread of this great God?
And must not this Fear both restrain such
in whose Breasts it is conceived from
wicked practices, and excite and awaken
them to all well-doing? Thus then we
have most plainly heard what the Fear of
God is, and together how it is begotten
in the heart, what roots or foundation it
has.

Now for the second Duty *Honour the King.*

Honour imports or signifies an *inward Esteem* and *outward Respect* paid to any, by reason of the Excellency we apprehend in them. Thus in the beginning of this verse, *Honour all men*: For some Excellency there is in all men, that is, in every man, more than in any other Creatures we know. The *Image of God* is impress'd upon the poorest, which whoso observes, or acknowledges, must needs pay an Esteem and

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and Respect, that is, an Honour thereto. But in the present case, more signally, *Kings are Gods Image*, doubly or trebly. First, as *Men* by Creation; Then as *Christians* by Regeneration; And further, by by their *Office*, as *Gods Vicegerents*. They represent him, and are as in the place of God within their Dominions and Countries; They are *the Ordinance of God*, Rom. xiii. 2. *the Ministers*, or immediate Agents, of God ver. 4. and therefore frequently in Scripture called *Gods*; twice even in one *Psalm lxxxii.* 1, and 6. Now because greater Excellency cannot be in any than in God; therefore to no other belongs greater or equal Honour. And because Kings on Earth are Gods Vicegerents, therefore to none on Earth is greater Honour due than unto Kings: so much reason for this Duty do the very terms in which it is expressed most evidently and intimately import. But it is requisite we take a more distinct view of the particulars, which this comprehensive general in the Text doth involve. We will therefore expressly put the *Question*, What are the great Branches of that Honor, which by the Christian Law Subjects ow to their Prince?

In answer whereto I conceive the sum of all may be reduced to the five following heads.

1. We

1. We owe to our King by the Law of Christ the *Honour of Obedience*. And for proof hereof, because some people will admit nothing to be our Duty, which is not plainly made so by one of the Ten Commandments, I could be content at present to go no further than the Fifth Commandment; *Honour thy Father and Mother*; *Civil* as well as *Natural*. Thy King as well as *Parents*. That Father and Mother ought to be interpreted here with this Latitude, I prove from hence, that there is no other of the Ten Commandments, which will take in the *Sixth* of these *Seven Precepts* which the Jewish Doctors call the Precepts of the *Sons of Noah*; and tell us they were in the world as the great Rule of Life or Manners long before *Moses's* Law. That Precept is *לדבוק באלהינו* of *Judgments* or *Obedience* to the *Civil Magistrate*, and must, I say, be included in the Fifth Commandment, or else (which is not credible) is totally omitted and reducible to none. Whence would follow that the Law written by Gods own Finger were more imperfect, than the Traditionary one, which was in the world before it: which, I presume, all whom I have to deal with abhor to think. Then, that the *Honour* here required will extend to

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Obedience, there can be no clearer proof, than the most exemplary instance of the *Rechabites* keeping this Commandment, in observing their Father *Rehabs* Injunctions, so much celebrated by God himself, *Jer.* xxxv. so that in short, they who contend for withdrawing Obedience to Kings out of the List of Christian Duties, as far as in them lies, take away a main branch of one of the Ten Commandments. But if we please to look into the New Testament, and will take satisfaction thence of our Christian Duty (as I think is most proper) we need not go so far about. Hear what Doctrine *St. Paul* requires *Titus*, whom he ordained Bishop of *Crete*, to preach to his Flock, *Tit.* II. last, and III. 1. *These things, saith he, speak, and exhort with all Authority. Let no man despise thee. Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers*; and what he means by that Subjection, immediately he expresses in the next word, *To obey*, *ὑπακούειν*, which our Translators indeed have rendred; *To obey Magistrates*. And if we understand the words as we ought, and as parallel places enforce, of submitting our selves or being obedient to the King as Supreme, and Governours or Magistrates as sent by him, (*1 Pet.* II. 13, 14.) there is no danger in the

the Translation. But if any of us should be infected with the Humour of some men, that there is a sort of Magistrates which are coordinate, or all taken together superior, to the King, and that 'tis these Magistrates only which we owe Obedience to, and another kind of Honour may serve the King; then it is fit we be admonish'd, that the word *Magistrates* is not in the *Original*, nor indeed in any *Translation*, that I can find, before those of *Calvin & Geneva*. And whether put in only, that the Text might more expressly favour the popular Government here may be worth consideration.

This only I avow, the Text naturally runs thus, *Put them in mind to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to obey.* There is no other Ob-

Quomodo hic se habeat Magni Erasmi versio, mihi compertum non est: nec enim ad

manum est, ut consulam. Certe quod Erasmus in Annotationis suis, aliisque (cum forsitan secuti) asseruerint Pseudepigraphi proprie esse parere Magistratibus, id gratis dictum est. Nam cum Pseudepigraphi sit ad Literam misit, et non Principium, Principatum, Imperium sonet, non Magistratus, reddendum potius foret parere imperio, vel principatui. At hoc prius positum erat, Et quam proxime; viz. Αρχαὶς ἡγεμονίαι. Cujus rei memor forte Interpres vulgatus Pseudepigraphi reddidit dicto obedire; nihilo sane felicius. Constat enim ex usu Novi Test. Pseudepigraphi significare simpliciter parere, obedire. Videntur Actorum. cap. v. 29, 32. Et xxvii. 21.

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ject specified of Obedience, but that before named of Subjection. And if we will have any critical difference betwixt the two Verbs, *To be subject* and *To obey*, the first, *υποτάσσει*, signifies more strictly, Being subject out of necessity and for Wrath, (as our Apostle elsewhere expresses it;) and this word *παραγγέλλει*, *To obey* voluntarily and out of choice, for Conscience sake. It is *Promptè, libenter & ex animo obedire*, says *Cornel. à Lapide*. And thus taken, as thus it ought to be taken, there cannot be a Text more exprefs for any Christian Duty than this is for Obedience to Kings.

But some of you haply have by this time cast your Eyes on the last words of the Verse, it is said, not only *Put them in mind to be subject, and obey, but to be ready to every good work*. And this limits our Obedience.

Yes, and God forbid but all Obedience to Man should be constantly charged with this Reserve or Condition, its consistency with our Obedience to God; *Children obey your Parents in the Lord*, (Ephes. vi. 1.) not in things by God forbidden: and so this Text is exprefs, you see, as to our Obedience to the King, that we *obey and be ready in every good work*. Yet

we

we must know, *Actions* in themselves but *indifferent* become *good works*, when done in *Obedience to lawful Authority*, such as I hope none of us doubt His Majesties to be. As for instance; It is an indifferent action (generally taken) whether I go abroad, or follow my business at home. But if the King commands me abroad to serve him, it is now a good work, and my Duty, to go abroad and serve him. And so in other like cases.

But will some say; What if the King should command us any thing that is unlawful? What then must our Obedience be? I answer.

1. The King cannot be conceived to command us (that is, any men in our circumstances and conditions) any thing but what he commands according to Law; that is, he can be conceived to command us nothing but what the Law commands: And I must stand to it, our Laws are good; nay they are most excellent: at least, I could never find an ill one amongst those now in force. This Supposition therefore is you see unreasonable, and not to be put.

But you will say; What if an ill Law should be made, and our Obedience to it required. These things are not in themselves impossible.

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I answer; Under our Constitution, and as the Frame of our Government stands, if they be not impossible, yet, God be blessed, they are most highly improbable, and most unlikely. But,

2. (And which for ever answers all) There are few of us but have heard there is a *double Obedience* which may be paid to Governours: *Active* or *Passive*. Where the thing commanded is *lawful* to be done, we ought to do it: we owe *active Obedience*, Eccles. viii. 2. *I counsel thee to keep the Kings Commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God.* Thy Allegiance binds thee to it. But in case the thing commanded be *unlawful*; that is, against any plain Command of God, or that thou without Fraud or Dissimulation apprehendest and believest it to be so, there is then *passive Obedience* that thou art to pay: that is, thou must meekly and patiently submit thy self to suffer, whatever Penalty the Lawgiver thinks fit to inflict for the breach of his Law. We may petition and supplicate for Forbearance and Mercy; but in case we cannot obtain it, we may not resist. *For whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* Rom. xiii. 2. This is the

the Doctrine of St. *Paul*, and it ever has been the Doctrine of our Church, [See the *Book of Homilies*.] And thus as to the first branch of Honour due to the King, the *Honour of Obedience*.

A second Honour, which we owe to him, is that of *Fealty and Allegiance*. The word *Fealty* signifies only *Fidelity* or *Faithfulness*: and what the particulars of the Faith we owe to our Sovereign Lord the King are, we know all of us by the Oath of Allegiance. In particular, as we are not to be false Traytors our selves, so neither are we to connive at, or conceal, those whom we have reason to suspect to be such. And hereunto we are all of us bound.

First. By the *Oath* aforementioned, which that none may think an Imposition upon us, or contrary to the Laws of God, or to our Christian Liberty, behold it in the very Kingdom of *Judah*; that is, in the Kingdom which of all ever on Earth was that of Gods most peculiar Erektion and Care. We had just now one proof of it out of *Ecclesiastes*; *I counsel thee to keep the Kings Commandment by reason of the Oath of God*: that Oath we cannot well conceive to be any other than the Oath of Allegiance, which they, to

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whom he speaks, had taken to their King, and particularly to King Solomon, the Penman of that Book. But in 1 Chron. last, 24. You have both the time, and manner or ceremony of taking it; *Then Solomon sat on the Throne of the Lord as King instead of David his Father—— And all the Princes and the mighty Men, and all the Sons of King David gave the Hand under Solomon; so the Text runs in the Hebrew, as you may see in the Margin of your Bibles. And what that kind of speech signifies, you may learn out of the Story of Abrahams Servant, Gen. xxiv. 2, 3. Put, I pray thee, (saith Abraham to his Servant) thine Hand under my Thigh, and I will make thee swear by the Lord the God of Heaven and the God of Earth. The giving the Hand under one was the Ceremony of a most solemn Oath By the Lord, that is, By Jehovah the God of Heaven and the God of Earth. So again when Jacob was dying in the Land of Egypt, he sent for his Son Joseph, and said unto him, Put, I pray thee, thine Hand under my Thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me; Bury me not in Egypt, but I will lie with my Fathers, &c. And he said, swear unto me, and he swore unto him. Genes. xxvii. 29, 30, 31. So that this their giving their Hand*

Hand under King Solomon, was swearing to him, in person, their Faith and Allegiance. You see then Divine Warrant for an Oath of Allegiance: And hereby first, I say, are we bound to pay our King the Honour of Fidelity: for this Oath we have all of us taken; or if any of us be so young as not to have taken it, such are to be minded, that we here all of us call ourselves *English-men*. And every *English-man* is born, as I may say, with the Oath of Allegiance in his mouth: our Fathers took it, and stand bound for us, and we therefore bound in them.

2. We are bound hereto by the *Principles of Equity and Justice*, those common grounds of the *Laws of Nations*, and indeed the *true Law of Nature*. We expect Protection from the King, his Laws and Government; and, God be blessed, we do enjoy it. Now is it not just, that as we have Safety from him, so he should have Security from us? What Nation is there, which gives not this Security to their Government? Indeed it is the very Bond of Government, without which it cannot subsist, but all must run into Seditions, Bloodshed, Confusion & Anarchy: And therefore,

3. We are bound to pay our King the Honour of Faith and Allegiance *in our own*
De-

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Defence: There are many who pretend, and have long pretended (God forgive them) to be afraid of their Property, Liberties and Religion.

My Brethren, what can more certainly and fatally expose or destroy all these, than Civil Wars? And Civil Wars must needs immediately come in upon us, if any of us (at least any number of us) start or swerve from our Allegiance. Our King (under God alone) is able to protect us, our Properties, Liberties & Religion: and besides his Force & Power, he has manifested to the World, Courage, Will and Resolution enough to protect us. In standing stedfast therefore, we secure and preserve our selves and ours: but if we stagger or fall off (which God forbid) we may weaken him, but we shall destroy our selves. I will add no more on this Point: I trust I do not need. Thus then as to the *second* branch of Honour due to the King, the Honour of Fealty and Allegiance, and our Obligations thereto. The third follows.

Thirdly then, We owe to our King, by the Laws of Christ, the *Honour of Supplies and of paying Tribute*. Kings must not be kept poor, for this is the way to make them useless, and to expose both them and their Subjects to the common Enemies

Enemies of both. You know whose Command it is, *Render unto Cesar the things that are Cesars, and unto God the things that are Gods.* Matth. xxii. 21. The Justice of which debt the Apostle gives us an account, *Rom. xiii. 6. For this cause pay we Tribute also, for they are Gods Ministers attending continually upon this very thing,* the thing he had spoken of in the fourth Verse, namely, *the publick Good:* or in his language, *to minister to every one for good; for the private good of each who doth good, and for the publick good of all by executing Wrath upon such as do evil.* Now there is no greater burden than the perpetual Care, Toil and Difficulty which lies on Kings and Persons in the highest Power, in reference to such Administration of Justice, and other like publick affairs. And if our own private business and concerns cannot be carried on without Expence; what must be the Charge of the Concerns of a Kingdom? Wherefore, as the undergoing such publick Cares and perpetual Anxieties deserves a publick and ample Reward (greater Wealth and Revenues than those of any private man) so the Necessities of publick Business require greater Treasures to discharge them. Hence, I say, is most evident the Justice of
of

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of the case, that Tributes and Supplies should be paid to Kings.

Let them be paid then, will some say, by them that reap the great benefit of the Government: but how will it be proved to be every mans Duty to pay them?

The Answer is easie, (1.) Who reaps not the benefit of the Government, and particularly the benefit of Protection by the Laws, both as to his Person, Fortunes, Liberty, good Name and the like? except he have deserved otherwise. He owes therefore for these, his share towards the defraying the publick Expences. But there is yet a farther Answer, (2.) We must know, the King has the same right to such Supplies as we speak of, to Tributes and his Revenues, as any of us have to our Estates.

*Nam propria Telluris herum natura ne-
que illum*

Nec me, nec quenquam statuit——

Nature gives no man a property to his House, or Lands, or like possessions. It is the Law that determines and sets out each mans property. And the same Law that metes out to me, what is mine, as-
signs

signs to the King what is his. The same Law, that gives me liberty to traffick, to buy up, and export, and import Commodities, allots to the King his Customes: and it is as much a *breach* of the eighth *Commandment* (whatsoever some men think of it) to *steal Custome*, as to pick a mans pocket; of the two in some regard a greater.

I know the ordinary Evasion many have, with which they do not so much quiet, as for a while cheat or stifle their Consciences. *The Laws* in this case, say they, are *penal*: if we submit to the Penalty of the Law, as we are content to do, when we are caught (which I must suspect, and they who say it would do well to consider, whether they so contentedly submit to legal Forfeitures as they pretend in this plea) if we *submit to the Penalty*, say they, we are *guiltless*, we have fulfilled the Law. *I utterly deny this*; and so will any man, who understands any thing of Casuistical Divinity. The Law by commanding me to do what will secure me from Penalty or Forfeiture, commands me not to incur that Penalty or Forfeiture: if therefore I wittingly incur it, I break the Law, except there were more particular *Salvo's* than I have seen in any of our penal Laws.

BUT

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But because some will not understand this in the general, let me put a particular case: Suppose a man by defrauding the King of some (comparatively) small Dues, incurs a Forfeiture, which undoes him; Who now is guilty of undoing this man, the Law or himself? If he would have honestly paid the King such Dues, as he might have done, and yet been an honest Gainer, (which was the thing commanded by the Law, and by the Law his Duty) he had been in a good condition: but he chooses to break the Law, and so has undone himself. Is he not now doubly guilty? first of a sin against the Law and the King. Secondly, is he not in some measure a *Felo de se*, at least a Robber of himself and Family? and the Guilt must needs bear its proportion, and be Guilt still, though not so great, in case of lesser Penalties and Forfeitures. Wherefore we see we owe the King the Honour of Supplies, Custom or Tribute.

Fourthly. We owe him the *Honour of Candour and charitable Construction*, of thinking and speaking the best we can of him and all his actions. You never knew a person, who truly honoured another, but he would be so far from thinking vilely of his indifferent actions, (' mean of such actions, which

which might be capable of being done wisely, or to a good end, as well as otherwise) that he would find out excuses for his bad ones. I pray you let us all pay our Prince this Honour; at least, let none of us be guilty of interpreting to the worst, such Counsels and Actions, the reasons of which we do not yet (and perhaps it is not fit we should at present) understand. This very practice, besides that it is most certainly our Duty to our King, would be no small service to our selves and neighbours: for it would prevent a multitude of those causeless, but very tormenting, Fears and Jealousies, nay even many divers reports too, which are very frequent all over the Kingdoms. But this I have formerly otherwise prest.

Lastly, We owe to our King the *Honour of our Prayers* * [and of our Praises too] in his behalf.

True Honour and Love are inseparable. And 'tis most sure no person of any serious Religion ever honoured and loved any man, whom he did not pray for * [and

in whose good he would not cordially rejoyce and praise God for it.] Remember that most solemn passage of the Apostle,

1 Tim.

** These passages were put in when the Sermon was preached a second time, in another place, and on another occasion.*

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1. Tim. II. 1, 2, 3. *I exhort therefore first of all, that Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all men: for Kings and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godliness and Honesty. For this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.* It is plain hence, that in the settling of the Service of God in the Church of Ephesus, one of St. Pauls first and chiefest cares, one of his strictest Injunctions was, that all sorts of Prayers should be offered up in the behalf of Kings; which I have otherwise more largely discoursed, and therefore for the present more briefly pass.

We see then now the main particulars of that Honour we are to pay the King by the Law of Christ. The Honour of Obedience, of Faith and Allegiance, of Supplies and Tributes, of Candour and charitable Thoughts, and lastly of our Prayers of all kinds.

Obj. 1. And all this is true will some say; yes, it were fit too to be practised, were Kings such as they should be.

Ans. 1. As to this vile Suggestion (which it is too plain many more men harbour than dare speak out) I might only give again the same Answer, I have formerly given

given, and say, in one word; we can find no fault in our King, but what is more the three Nations, than his own Guilt. Our former Crimes therefore, and the Effects they have had upon him, cannot but most iniquitously and unchristianly be made Arguments for withdrawing our present Duties.

Ans. 2. But once again; Secondly: Consider, I pray you, the *Text* and *Context*, the *emphasis* both bear, the *Time* in which, and the *Persons* to which, both were spoken, and if we have not such an Answer hence to this Objection, as will make us all ashamed so much as to think of withholding any branch of the Honour mentioned due to our King, I am much mistaken. As to the *Time*; it is most certain this *Epistle* must be writ either in the time of *Claudius* or *Nero's Empire*, according to *Baronius* in the formers: be it under whichsoever of the two, they were both not only Heathens and Enemies to Christianity, but villanously vicious. Then as to the *Persons*, if we consider to whom the Apostle directs these his Commands, not only in general to all the Christian multitude, but more especially to the *dispersed Christian Jews in Pontus, Asia, &c.*

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this contributes further to the utter avoiding all the force can be conceived in this Objection. The Jews we know were a people peculiarly chosen by God, and by him privileged above all Nations: amongst other Promises made them, that of dominion over the Nations was one, especially eyed by them; and nothing did they expect more constantly or passionately by the Messias, then temporal Empire. But even to this people, and to the Christian (that is, the best) part of them, doth the very *Apostle of the Circumcision* preach Subjection, Honour and Obedience even towards Heathen Emperours and Princes. Now weigh the whole Emphasis: Was it thus particularly and expressly commanded to the primitive (that is, the purest and most excellent Race of) Christians, that have lived in any ages of the world, that they should be dutiful and obedient to their Princes, though the worst of men? Were these same Commands too in common, & without any exemption imposed upon the Jews, that people peculiarly privileged, as it would seem, to the contrary? Nay, were they, as by name required to be subject and obedient to all the Kings of the Nations they should live under? Were the Sons of God (as I may

style

stifle them) thus required to yield Subjection to Aliens, and men without God in the world, and can now any of us think, that, upon some private Reasons of our own, we may forbear, or do not owe, like Duty to our Native Liege-Lord and Sovereign, the same a most Gracious, Wise, Just and Virtuous Prince? for shame let us banish out of our Souls such Suggestions.

Object. 2. But it may be further urged; 'Tis not impossible that a Princes Title may be *disputable*, and what will you say in such a case? Are we to obey *Intruders* against the rightful Heir?

Ans. 1. I answer, first there was never any Title so just and indisputable, but some unreasonable men have contested it. We find by the sacred Story, that when God appointed Kings, by immediate nomination from Heaven, there arose certain men, *Sons of Beliel*, who refused to own them; yet was their Title no less Divine and just for all that. But as to the Title of our present Sovereign, I protest before God, I cannot see any colour, any shadow of plausible appearance, that can be brought against it. What man of any Face, Reason, or Conscience can disbelieve our late Gracious Kings voluntary Protestation, both

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by Word of Mouth, and under his Hand to his Privy Council, and after publisht to the World? Consider, at what time it was made, on what Inducements possible it could be made? Had he not the Affections of a Father, as well as of a Brother? Was he likely to gain any thing by violating Honour and Conscience, in avowing a falshood? Or could any thing but Justice, Care of his Peoples Peace and Safety, together with pure Conscience, and an entire regard of Truth, move him to give his Royal Word, Hand, and in a sort Oath, and that, of his own accord to attest the No-title of the present Rebellion Pretender, and the most just and full Title of our present Sovereign Lord and King? This one thing, in my apprehension, must for ever stop the mouths, and satisfy the Minds of any that will hear Reason.

Ans. 2. Again, as to all that can be done by way of Ratification, or to speak more properly, Recognition of our Sovereigns just Title, has it not been done? If you consider the way of his coming to the Crown, can it at all be said that he set up himself? Was he not immediately recognized and proclaimed by the Nobility, Privy Council, and the whole body of his People (as far as then appeared) from the chief City

of his Kingdoms, throughout City and Country every where in the whole three Kingdoms. Then, to wave the Solemnities of his most *August Coronation*, have not the full Houses of Parliament recognized, declared, and avowed him as their only right-Lord and King? Are not all degrees and sorts of men concluded in, and by their Representatives in Parliament? 'Tis rescinding and giving the Lye to our own act, nay, pardon the expression, 'tis Rebellion against the Laws and Statutes of the Realm, against Acts of Parliament, (if such a thing as Rebellion against them be possible) as well as Rebellion against the King, for us to stagger or be falling off now. But, I hope, I did not need to have been so particular and earnest in this place: However, the matter coming in my way, I was unwilling to be wanting to my Duty, and that any of you should be wanting to yours.

Wherefore, to enforce now what I have been so long teaching and asserting, *due Honour to our King*; let us now consider the other point remaining, the Connexion betwixt these two Duties. Fear God, honour the King: The putting them thus immediately together seems to suggest, that if we do fear God, we shall honour the King; and that by giving him all these

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branches or kinds of Honour mentioned.

Now the *general Ground* of this Conclusion is, that the Fear of God is an universal and invariable Principle of most impartial Obedience to the whole Law of Christ. He who fears God makes no such difference between the Commands of God, as to account any small, or such, which he may wave at pleasure without guilt. *For he that said, do not commit Adultery, said also do not kill: now if thou commit no Adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a Transgressor of the Law, Jam. II. 11.* And the same God, you have heard, said further, *Honour thy Father and thy Mother*, that is, in one sense of the Command, Pay thy King, as well as Parents, the Honour of Obedience, together with the other points of Honour mentioned. Wherefore if the Fear of God so far sway in our hearts, that it control, govern and direct our Actions, we shall be loyal as well as devout; for there is the same Divine Law and Authority for both: and if in one point we cast off the Fear of God, 'tis vain to pretend it in another. the same Fear were it sincere and real, would operate to all cases as well as one. When *Herod* is tender of breaking *his Oath*, but not of *Murder and guiltless Blood*, it is sure he

such

such a *Judg* which fears not God, however, for some vain Honours sake, he may regard Men. When Judas is thrifty, and cannot endure that so much waste should be made of a Box of Ointment (though it was a kind of fore-embalming his Master) but in Charity had much rather it had been sold and given to the poor, yet can upon the first occasion play the Traytor, in the vilest and most mercenary sort, we may be sure the Devil has entred him, the Fear of God possesseth him not; such damn'd Partiality could not consist with that Fear. And so in the present case: they are only such Apostles as Judas, who can at once pretend to the Spirit of Christ, and yet joyn with, assist and animate Rebels; nay, which is more deplorable, imagine, contrive, hatch and bring forth Rebellion. But we have not so learned Christ, if so be that we have heard him, and been taught by him, as the Truth is in Jesus. This is the general Ground: and as to more particular ones they have been already toucht. For,

1. We have heard that Kings are on Earth Gods Vicegerents: now can any man pretend Faith and Duty to his Sovereign in person, and at the same time desie, vilifie or depose him in his Viceroy? Is it not the same Royal Power that resides in both

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as such? And is not the Undutifulness and Disloyalty to the Kings Majesty in his Viceroy, still an Offence against the Kings Majesty? Hear God himself deciding the case expressly, *1 Sam. viii. 7. They have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, that I should not reign over them.* And,

2. Can any of us after such express Texts produced doubt, but it is *Gods declared Will* and *peremptory Command* that we should be obedient to the King, and them which are sent by him? Is the fifth Commandment no part of the Moral Law? Or are the 13th of the Romans (*Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*) and this Paragraph of *St. Peters Epistle*, whence the Text is taken, no Gospel? Did not Christ and his Apostles, and the whole body of primitive Christians thus live, and thus teach? Was there in those days any such thing heard of, as Resistance of Powers, or Plots and Designs against Government, though then the Government was in the hands of the unjustest and most tyrannical persons the Earth ever bore? Did not Christianity grow up under Persecutions, and was not the *Bloud of the Martyrs the Seed of the Church*? This Scripture, this all Antiquity teacheth us.

And herein indeed I must commend the
Inge-

Ingenuity of some of the Rebellious Saints of the late Age; when particularly prelt to produce Divine Warrant for Subjects taking Arms against the King, or to shew where it might be found written in the Gospel, that it was lawful to

rise up against the Government * *John*

* some of them ingenuously *Goodwin* confess, that there was no Text *particu-* for it, nor was it a Doctrine of *larly.*

the ancient Christianity; but they had it from the Spirit of God dwelling in themselves, and it was *a secret reserved by God to be revealed in the later age of the world*, when it would come to be more seasonable than it would have been in the *Infancy of Christianity*. *Ingenue Peribonius*, a fair Confession indeed: But I beseech you, Brethren, keep to the old and undoubted Christianity. *Be followers of Christ Jesus*: and if you are so, the Fear you have of God & the Faith you have of Christ, will certainly lead you, as Christ did, to give unto Cesar the things that are Cessars, as well as unto God the things that are Gods; that is, you will conclude the Duty to your God and to your King thus far inseparable.

To shut up all briefly in a double Exhortation.

First,

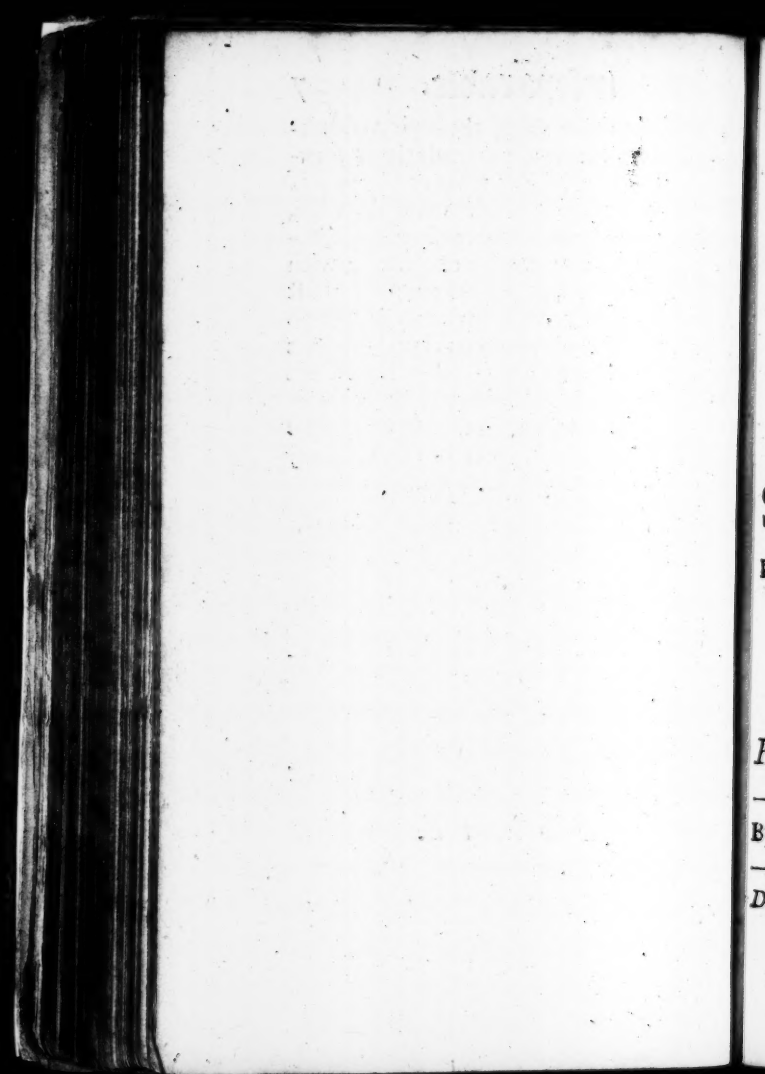
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First. As the foundation of all Sincerity, of all Honesty and Duty both to God and Man, study and endeavour above all things to possess your hearts with a fixed and unmovable Fear of God. The way and means thereto, has been most plainly laid open in the beginning. We have seen the true rise of that Fear, and its genuine Nature. It is a lasting sense of the Being, Sovereignty, Omniscience, Justice and Power of God. Inure your selves then to think much hereon, and to attend hereto in all your actions. Let these thoughts lie down with you by night, and awake with you in the morning, and accompany you in all your ways and business. *God sees. God will bring to account.* By this means the Wisemans Advice will have effect upon you; you will be in the *Fear of the Lord all the day long*, Proverbs xxiii. 17.

Secondly. *Let the Fear of God have its perfect work.* Be not so false to your selves, as to have the Fear of God with partiality: but whatsoever you see is matter of his Will, Command and Law, and so consequently of your Duty, do you honestly, and without picking and choosing settle to, and be conscientious in all and every such thing. How canst think to answer at the
great

great Tribunal of God, the laying aside any of his Laws? And particularly, if *Damnation* be dreadful (as what can be so, if that be not?) remember who has said, *they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.* Now thou canst not partake with those who do resist, but thou must resist also. Certainly if these things be laid to heart, we shall all be no less good Subjects to our King, than to God; that is, we shall be loyal and faithful unto both. Now God make us all such, and keep us *faithful unto Death, that we may receive the Crown of Life.* Which God grant, &c.

F I N I S.



REX REGIUS.
KINGS

Succeeding in a Right Line

A

National Blessing.

Proved in a

SERMON

Preached at *Cork*, Octob. 14. 1685. to a very
full Assembly, there met to solemnize

T H E

BIRTH-DAY

O F

His Gracious Majesty James II.

By *Edward Lord Bishop of Cork and Rosse.*

Dublin, Printed by *A. Crook* and *S. Helsham*,
for *William Norman*, *Samuel Helsham* and
Eliphaz Dobson Booksellers. 1686.

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T*His Sermon was preached only in the place and on the time and occasion mentioned. The Specialties of its Design may not perhaps be fully understood, either by its Title or by the Text; And therefore I thought fit to premonish, that I aimed herein peculiarly at these Two Points: First, to conciliate, the most I could, to our present Sovereign in particular the good Opinion and hearty Affections of all sorts of People. And next, more generally, to make them*

them in love with and zealous for the Constitution or Frame of our Government. It will easily be perceived how these are concerned through the several parts of the Discourse.

Nor have I been guilty, in any thing I have said to either of these purposes, of the least Prevarication or Discession from my own Thoughts: for I really believe both His Sacred Majesty and the Constitution deserve much more, than so shallow a person, as my self, can comprehend or say of either.

Only I could wish, and I do most passionately exhort, that one

one thing *which I have here*
supposed and pleaded, as an
Argument of our Happiness,
might daily take more effect;
namely, that His Majesties most
exemplary Royal Virtues of
strict Temperance, Considera-
tion, Prudence and universal
Seriousness may be closely imi-
tated by all who presume to stile
themselves his Friends: For it
is plain, by one part of this Dis-
course, that much both of His
Majestys and his Peoples Blessed-
ness depend hereupon: and there-
fore let none think or calumni-
ate, that I promise or pre-
tend to prove publick Pro-
spérité on other Terms: For
publick Dissoluteness and a

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truly

truly prosperous state of
things *are* most incompati-
ble. *The Good God increase*
amongst us the Virtues I have
commended, and multiply on us
their Fruits and Consequents.

REX

REX REGIUS.

Kings succeeding in a right
Line a **National Blessing.**

Proved in a

SERMON preached in *Christchurch* at
Cork, *Octob. 14. 1685.* being His Ma-
jesties *Birth-day.*

The TEXT.

*Eccles. x. 17. Blessed art thou, O Land ;
when thy King is the Son of Nobles, and
thy Princes eat in due season, for Strength;
and not for Drunkenness.*

EX **T**He great *Designs* of our being as-
sembled here *this day*, I will pre-
sume, are or ought to be, chief-
ly these two.

First. To pay God our more solemn
Thanksgivings for our Gracious King
M 2 and

and the Blessings we enjoy under his happy Reign. And,

Secondly. Together to possess both our own and others minds, as universally as we can, with deeper Impressions of our Duty to our King, and fresh Resolutions of Loyal Adhesion.

Now these things being designed by us upon his Birth-day, as this is, whatever Advantages his Descent, Family or Extraction (which certainly have operated more to our Happiness, than most are aware of) may be conceived to add, either to the quickening our Gratitude, or fixing in us a more lasting sense of our Obligations and Duty, ought not, on this Solemnity, in all reason to be omitted, or to pass unconsidered.

The *Text* very pertinently suits with our designs; and especially, in that it asserts and celebrates, as most conducive to the publick Good, such peculiar circumstances and qualifications as, God be blessed, are most eminent and exemplary in our present Sovereign.

Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles, and thy Princes eat in due season, for Strength and not for Drunkenness.

King Solomon, the Author hereof was

as much a *Prince* as a *Philosopher*, as deeply insighted into Political Affairs, as into Natural or Moral Sciences. And we have many Proofs hereof in several Paragraphs (or little Discourses) of Political concernment in this Book. This, out of which the Text is taken, is one, but very short; consisting only of two Aphorisms, and those containing matter of his Observations, or his Sense in brief, touching the *different Estate of Kingdoms* according to the *different Qualifications or Circumstances* of their *Princes*.

Wo to thee, O Land, when thy King is a Child, and thy Princes eat in the morning! ver. 16.

The word *Child* here must not be taken strictly for an Infant, but (as both the Original signifies, and the Septuagint have rendered it, *νεανίσκος*) for a young person. And it is in Scripture applied (1.) To *Age*, so as to signify a young person. (2.) Because young persons used to be employed in Attendance and Services, to *Conditon* (and thus the *young men* in Scripture language very often
1 Sam. ii. 13.
is as much as the *Servants* 2 Sam. ii. 14.
or *Attendants*.) Or (3.) To
Ec.

Understanding: in which regard, King *Rehoboam* though then above

one and forty years was said לעל young and tender-hearted, 2 Chron. xiii. 7. All which acceptations are necessary here to be noted, that the opposite hereof, *the Son of Nobles*, in the Text, may be better understood.

Of *Eating in the Morning*, &c. we shall touch by and by. In the mean while the sum of this his first Observation is, That it is generally a great unhappiness for a Nation to have either a young, ignoble, shallow or voluptuous Prince. God be blessed, our Kings vilest Enemies can affix none of these to him.

But contrarily, *Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles, and thy Princes eat in due season, for Strength, and not for Drunkenness*. That term, *the Son of Nobles*, is capable of a double sense: Strictly and literally taken, it signifies, only a Person of Noble Extraction, or descended from a Noble Family. But taken according to the *Hebrew Idiom*, as we say the *Sons of Men*, that is *Men*; so the *Son of Nobles* will be a Person of a noble Spirit, generous, great and brave. Nothing hinders but we may understand the term both ways. And in the Interpretation of Scriptures, where several senses are probable and wholesome, it is, as one calls it, a

piece of spiritual Frugality to take both, or even *all*. It is indeed an holy making the most of Scripture. And if we regard what was said before in the Explication of the word *Child* in the former verse, that it signifies not only what we commonly mean by the name [*a person of few years,*] but also either one of a *mean or servile condition*, or even of a *weak and mean Soul*, the Opposition which must be admitted between these two branches [*Wo be to thee, O Land, when thy King is a Child*] and [*Blessed be thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles*] will enforce us to take this term in both the senses mentioned.

Then as to what may seem dubious or obscure in the latter clause of the Text ; *Eating in due season, for Strength, and not for Drunkenness*, seems at first only a description of temperate Diet. *Eating in due season*, is opposed to *Eating in the morning*. The morning is no season for men to set themselves to Eating ; but first for Devotion, then for Business. *Eating for Strength, and not for Drunkenness* determines both the *Quantity and Quality of our Food*. For it is plain, men may make themselves drunk with a small measure of some kind of Liquors, as well as with a large one of o-

thers. These three therefore, To Eat and Drink in *due season*, in *due measure*, and of *such viands* as are convenient for us, make up what we call Temperance in Diet. But this *single Virtue*, as being the principal part of *Sobriety*, and that which is mainly instrumental to preserve Reason and Consideration, is put *Synecdochically* for a *considerative Virtuons Temper and Practice*; in opposition, especially, to a voluptuous and sensual Life; which, whoever give themselves up to, whether noble or plebeian, are neither fit for, nor can mind or happily dispatch, Business. And so the sum of the Royal Preachers Observation in the Text amounts to this; 'Tis a singular Blessing to a Nation to have a King nobly descended, of a noble Mind, not young or unexperient^d, not giving himself over to Pleasures and excess, but grave, abstemious, considerative and virtuous. And all this, praised be our good God, is a Blessedness which these Nations at present enjoy.

The Text being thus explained, it follows, that we speak distinctly to its parts: which I shall not be curious in assigning. It being a compound or copulative Proposition, consists evidently of two simple ones, the first whereof is, *Blessed art thou,*

O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles.
 We ought then first to consider, what Felicities they are, which amount to a People by having their Prince of Noble Extraction.

And in answer hereto, if my Discourse be not at present so perfectly or wholly Theological, as I could desire, or, as are generally those, with which I use to entertain you, I must beg your pardon: the nature of the Subject matter does not admit it: But, I am sure, the End I drive at, or that to which all tends, is truly Holy, Religious and Christian.

Now the great Benefits which reasonably a People may expect under such a Prince are, I think, chiefly these three.

Publik Wealth and Plenty;
 Publick Ease, or Liberty to enjoy
 what they have; And
 Publick Quiet and Peace.

Blessings! which one would think should
 endear the Government to us, and which,
 I am sure, whether we will acknowledge
 or no, the Kingdoms generally enjoy;
 especially if we consider how at present it
 goes with other neighbouring Nations.
 And these, I say, by Gods Blessing, and
 upon

upon our own Loyalty, we may reasonably expect the continuance of, under our *Sovereign* and the *present Constitution*, that is, while we are governed by *Kings who are the Sons of Nobles*. For,

First. With *Noble Personages* generally go *Noble Estates and Revenues*. When men who were born Princes come to the Throne, they carry with them thither their private Fortunes and former Principalities, joyning all to the Crowns they take. A great Felicity this to the Publick, and much for the aggrandising a Nation, as well as for the Ease of the middle rate of men, on whom commonly all burdens fall. *Kings cannot be too rich, though Subjects may*. 'Tis for the Benefit of the whole body of their People, that Princes abound. They will then be better able to defend both themselves and Subjects; and that with fewer, lighter and more easie Supplies. On the contrary, where indigent and poor men come to rule, though never so virtuous, upright and just, never so sweet, generous and noble minded, yet [*Necessitas cogit ad turpia*] a poor Princes own, or the publick Necessities, will put him on Practices dishonourable, and which will be uneasie and grating on the the Subject. For what vast Treasures are

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cessary to settle a new Prince? What unthought of Expences incident? Extraordinary Exigents of State, private Accidents, Families to be raised, Dependants to be advanced, and a multitude of like occasions? Of all which the ordinary sort must bear the main burden. Wherefore no such Oppressor as a poor Man in chief Power. *Prov. xxiii. 3. A poor man, that oppresseth the Poor, is like a sweeping Rain, which leaveth no Food.* Though therefore it was a King in the Text that said it, yet it would seem of all Degrees the Commonality may in this respect most justly pronounce, *Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles.*

Secondly. The Sons of Nobles most generally prove Noble and Heroical themselves, and of great and brave Souls. *Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis.* Eagles naturally produce not Kites or Buzzards: There is a Royal Spirit runs in Royal Bloud. And it has been observed by the wisest and most impartial men, such which are best Judges in these matters, I mean, least obnoxious to mistake and freest from Flattery, that many Princes even while young, and within those years which ordinarily denominate Children, have far surpass in ripeness of Wit, Prudence, Counsel or like Qualifications, the

the generality of *adult persons*, of above twice their years, though of liberal and good lettered Education also. This, amongst others, was manifest to all the world in that blessed Prince *Edward VI.* King of *England*, whom *Cardan* (an *Italian* by Birth as well as Religion, but one of the most learned men and greatest Philosophers then in the world) having visited, could not forbear wonder, and giving him so great a Character, as is scarce credible touching one of so few years. It is too long to repeat the whole, but in the end he expressly stiles him *the Miracle of Nature*. And it is truly much, to have been ever from the Cradle fill'd with great thoughts, possess'd with Principles and Designs of publick Good, and bred by *Art*, as well as by *Nature dispos'd* and fram'd for Government. Now this may be expected from the *Sons of Nobles*, and is almost ever found in those who are born Princes. They cannot well be base spirited, but answer their Originals and Condition of Life. From whence, how naturally the forementioned Advantages will flow to their Subjects, any may easily see who pleases to consider the Case. On the contrary, when men either by the *Sword*, or *Popular Favour and Factions*, come to the Throne,

*Throne, they retain dreadful tinctures of the Cruelty, Bloudiness, Partiality or other base Arts, that advanced them. Whence it comes to pass that they rule with Tyranny and Oppression, at least, that they generally administer (pardon the solecism) unequal and partial Justice: Where they dare to punish, they commonly (though on slight occasions) crush irreparably: where they dare not, they will not see, but haply flatter or fawn, at least basely dissemble, and personate Justice, only in being blind: And what Grievances, how great and various must arise hence, is not easie, I had almost said to imagine, I am sure not to comprehend or determine. Remember *Jothans* Parable, *Judg. ix. 15.* When the Bramble was advanced to be King over the Trees, he said unto the Trees, if in truth ye anoint me King over you, then come and put your trust in my Shadow: and if not, let Fire come out of the Bramble and devour the Cedars of Lebanon. The Bramble is no such tall, erect or strong plant, that its shadow was likely, I should have said possible, to defend the Trees, from the injuries either of Storms or scorching Heat: Yet if the Trees would not accept of this its shelter, as insignificant and ridiculous as it was, from such a King, nothing but*

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consuming Fire was to be expected even to the very goodliest Cedar. And the matter of fact proved such in that very case to which this Parable was adapted. The *men of Shechem* (ver. 2. that is, the *Manassites* and *Ephraimites*, that inhabited that City and its Territories) forgetting the Benefits they had received from *Jerubaal*, upon *Abimelechs* insinuations and wheadling of them, chose him, who was only *Jerubaals* Natural Son by an *Hand-maid* of his, for their King, rejecting *Jerubaals* legitimate Issue; they furnish him with Treasure, wherewith he hired vain and light men that followed him, that is, wherewith he raised a kind of a paltry Army: By the assistance of these, he goes and cuts off all the legitimate Issue of *Jerubaal*, threescore and ten persons on one stone: excepting only *Jothan* that fled. But soon after God was meet with him, and *Jothans* Curse, which I before repeated, befell both him and them. God sent an evil spirit between the men of *Shechem* and *Abimelech*. They dealt treacherously with one another. For they conspire against him; he chaseth them out of their City, kills and slays as many as he could, drives the rest into a Castle, and by a stratagem burns a thousand of them in the Castle, into which he had driven them.

Thus

Thus almost literally, *Fire comes out of the Bramble to consume the Cedars.* And in the end besieging a Tower, into which another party of them had fled, *he is himself knockt on the head by a piece of a Milstone thrown down from the top of the Portal by a Woman.* Thus back again *Destruction comes out from a Shrub to consume the very Bramble.* They rend and tear one another, till the Bastard Prince and his People mutually perish by one anothers hand. Nor is this a single or rare case, as to matter, at least, of the Tyranny of ignoble persons. It has been the Experience of all Ages and Countries, that there is no such Cruelty and Invasion on all mens Rights, Properties, and even Lives, as under upstart Governments and Governours. But I shall not stand to multiply instances. I will only note, This is the first of the three things for which the Earth is disquieted, and which it cannot bear; For a Servant when he reigneth. Prov. xxx. 22. For they bring with them Spirits unequal to their new Place. Wherefore blessed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles.

Thirdly. The Title of Kings the Sons of Nobles is generally certain, and their succeeding, or coming to the Crown, peaceable, uncontroverted, submitted to and acqui-

quiesced in by all. Now this is an *unspeakable Benefit to a Nation*, when Kings dye almost like other men, and the Government, as an Estate in Fee, descends to the rightful Heir, without noise and publick concussions: when there are no Earthquakes, as I may call them, in the Commonwealth, but as in the Succession of other Noble Men to their Palaces, Lands and Honours, there is only the alteration of a single person or two: If you come into the Family, you shall find few new Faces, but generally the House looks all as it did; the old Servants still fill their old Places, and no Servant is at a loss for his Portion in due season. How easie must this be to the People? scarcely perceptible, and in a manner only a vicissitude, or kind of exchange of Happiness. Whereas the setting up of *new Titles* has *innumerable Inconveniencies*, and cannot be effected (if at all) without great and lasting Commotions. 'Tis difficult to do, long a doing, and perhaps never well done; And in all these stages of its progress a Plague to the People. This is so clear, that I confess I am amazed, that any men, who pretend to Sense and Judgment, should be so fond of an *Elective form of Kingship*, or (what is much the same) *altering the true*
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legitimate Succession. And now I have named it, (and indeed I named it with design, as being most pertinent to my Subject) let me conjure you all, in the name of God, and as you tender your own and your Posterities Welfare, that you never hearken to men who would instill such Notions. God be blessed the *Crisis* is over; and there's no danger, I think, at present, of any mens being about attempting matter of practice of this kind. But, I say, suffer no little State-menders to possess you or yours with any such Speculations, or Notional imaginations. Stick to *Solomons* Doctrine in my Text, of the happiness of being governed by Kings the Sons of Nobles in an uninterrupted Line, and never hear of otherwise transferring Royalty.

And here give me leave in a few words, as the *last Argument*, to assert the Peoples Happiness in being under Kings the Sons of Nobles, to shew you out of Scripture something of the mischief of *Elective Kingdoms*, which too many in these Nations, of late years, have madly driven at. As long as I keep to Scripture, I may suppose my self not much, if at all, out of my Kew.

First. In such cases, on every change,

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it cannot be comprehended or stated, how great the *publick Sufferings* or miseries may prove; but in the general it is most certain the people must suffer much, at least, all mens Rights, Families and even persons must be in perpetual turmoil and danger by reason of the *uncertainty* as well as *variations* of *Kings*, or of the particular *methods* of *Government*, sometimes it will not be known who is King: one party will contend one is, another will say theirs is; and however, the Power, that made one King to day, can unmake him to morrow; and amongst so changeable a Generation, as they say we Islanders be, indeed as all mankind is, there can be expected no stability. Be pleased to see instances to this purpose out of holy Scripture. The People of *Israel*, who I am sure were no Islanders, I mean *the ten Tribes* fell off from the House or *Line of David*, which God had chosen and set over them, and they would choose for themselves, and a very popular man they did choose, for their King; namely *Jeroboam* the Son of *Nebat*, 1 *King*. xii. 20. After Wars, Disorders and Desolations, which lasted all his days, and during which, in one

2 *Chronicl.* Battel there fell of the *Israe-*
 xiii. 7, &c. lives five hundred thousand cho-
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sen men (which would make five greater Armies than, I think, we have usually heard of in this age, and perhaps is a greater number of fighting men, than many populous Kingdoms, such as are now a-days can send forth) and from which neither *Jeroboam* nor his People ever recovered themselves. (ver. 20.) After *Jeroboams* two and twenty years Rebellion against God (in corrupting his Worship and People with Idolatry for which they were finally destroyed) as well as against two of his lawful Sovereigns successively; after all this *Iliad of Miseries, the Lord struck him and he died.*

His Son *Nadab* succeeds him indeed, or, as some think, reigned together with him towards the latter end of his days. However, before he was well warm in his Throne, *Baasha* (a person of another Tribe, who had no pretence to the Crown, but who might quickly have as good a Title to it as either *Jeroboam* or *Nadab* had) *conspired against him and slew him, as would seem, in the head of his Army, and reigned in his stead, 1 King. xv. 27, 28.* But how long will this new Title stand? After Wars again upon Wars, all his days, his Son *Ela* succeeds him: but *within two years Zimri Captain of half his Chari-*

ots conspired against him, and slew him, as he was drinking himself drunk in the House of Arza his Steward. Upon this Zimri sets up himself (chap. xvi. 9. 11.) and immediately slew all of Baasha's House: (Here was a Recompence for Baasha's Treason.) But before Zimri had reigned over part of *Israel* full one week, another part of the people would have another King, and set up *Omri*: on which Zimri burns himself in his own Palace. And now (ver. 21.) *Israel* is divided, not only from *Judah*, as before, but within themselves: divided into two parts, saith the Text: *For half of the People followed Tibni to make him King, and half Omri.* To be short, from the time the *Israelites* fell off from the Royal Line that God had set over them, and betook themselves to King-choosing, from that Revolt, I say, to *Omri*, which was somewhat less than five and forty years, if rightly computed, they had six Kings indeed, but not one year of Peace: and of their six Kings, as far as I can find, only two died the death of other men; so frequent and so dismal were the Alterations of Government! so unhappy the state of things!

I will pursue the History of this Kingdom no further, as to this particular of the

the uncertainty of Titles, and frequent Changes, which you see must needs happen, and when they happen, they rend Nations in pieces, and leave nothing stable, durable or secure; only out of what you have heard of the *deplorable state*, into which this People brought themselves; by *breaking off the Succession*, and running into this kind of *Elective Kingdom*, I cannot but note to you,

Secondly, The *dreadful Cruelties and Bloudshed*, which commonly ensue on such Elections, to establish the New Prince. Thus as soon as *Baasha* obtained the Throne *he smote all the House* (that is, Kinred, Allies, and most likely all the Adherent of *Feroboam*;) *he left not one of them that breathed until he had destroyed them*, 1 *King*.xv.29. which, though it were *Baasha's* Wickedness, and Gods just Judgment, executed on *Feroboams* Family (however by a villanous Agent) yet in point of Policy and Security to himself, he was in a sort necessitated to it; Now so great a Slaughter certainly could not but be a fore publick Wound. I might shew many instances of the like practice in in others, but it is not pleasing to rake in Bloud.

Lastly. Whereas it is ordinarily pretended by our modern State-menders, that

reducing Kingdoms, as near as may be, to an Elective form, is the best method to secure a Succession of good and virtuous Princes, the contrary hereto appears by this instance; The People of Israel, after this new modelling their Kingdom, upon rejecting the true Heir descendent, and electing out of themselves a King, had through the Judgment of God withdrawing his Grace in punishment of their Rebellion and Revolt, from this time till the utter Dissolution of their Kingdome, nineteen Kings successively, and not one good amongst them all: And no wonder, saith a sober Author: For,

First. It was a Kingdome whose Foundation was laid in

§1. Rebellion.

§2. Schism.

Secondly: It was maintained by a Politick Idolatry: in the continuance of Jeroboams Golden Calves.

Thirdly. Polluted with the Bloud of many of their Kings; few of them going to their Grave, Sicca morte [by a Bloudless death]. And therefore having continued two hundred forty one, or as others calculate, two hundred fifty eight, years, in the ninth year of Hosea's
Reign,

Reign (which was the seventh of Hezekiah King of Judah) the King and People of Israel were carried away Captives by Shalmanezzer King of Assyria, and never returned again: for God removed Israel out of his sight? 'Tis so said twice, 2 King. xvii. 18, 23. And 'tis observable, no one knows to this day whats become of these ten Tribes. But even during the whole state or most settled time of their Kingdome, they had no face of true Religion, nor indeed any Religion constant amongst them; but a Gallimaufry of all the Gods and Idolatries of the Nations, according to the Honour or Interest of their Kings.

On the other side, the Kingdome of Judah, which continued under the Rightful Succession and was Hereditary, stood near one hundred and forty years longer, than that of Israel, and they had amongst their Kings many great Saints, as Ase, Jehosophat, Hezekiah, Josiah, and diverse others. And though the Worship of God were often foully corrupted, in the Reign of some of their Kings, yet as that Corruption still came in from the Kings of Israel, or from Affinity or League with them, so by the Succession of good Kings it was restored again, and both the Church and Face of Religion kept up amongst them;

till it pleased God, for their treading in the steps of the People of *Israel*, to send his Church into Captivity, there to be cured of Idolatry. Which Cure when wrought (though there still remained a general *Cachexy* or disorder of *Manners*) yet it pleased God to bring back for a while their Captivity, and to give them a new footing in their own Land; till out of that *Royal Stem* was born our Lord *Jesus*, the promised *Seed* of *Abraham*, the *Son* of *David* according to the *Flesh*, but declared, by *Power* and *Resurrection* from the dead, the *Son* of *God*, the *Lord* of *Lords* and *King* of *Kings*, blessed for evermore, of whose *Kingdom* there shall be no end.

To sum up all; If then there be any men, to whom perpetual *unsettledness* and *dangers* to themselves and theirs, to whom continued ages of *War*, to whom ever and anon recurring *Murder* of *Kings*, *Massacres* of *Families*, together with all *Violence* and *Tyranny* over the people, and even *Arbitrary Religion*, as well as *Government* (*Usurpation* on *God* and *Man*) be pleasing, such men may plead these *Arguments* to enamour the world with the model of *Elective Kingdoms*.

But on the contrary; If *Publick Wealth*, *Ease* and *Quiet*; I may add, if continued *Liberties*,

erties, settled Religion, and general Stability (as far as the state of sublunary affairs does admit) be *more amiable*, we have reason to stick to a true *Legitimate Succession*. For it was the Observation of the wisest of Kings, *Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy King is the Son of Nobles*: and we see how far it proved so in the Kingdom of Judah.

We have hitherto, as I think is most proper, and at least on this day most seasonable, taken the words literally. I before intimated another sense of them, by which *Son of Nobles* came to denote persons in themselves truly Noble, that is, of generous, brave and virtuous Souls: But this we have in part seen to be a frequent consequent of *Lineal Nobility*: and withal the second member of the Text will lead us into its consideration. For it follows, *Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy Princes eat in season, and not for Drunkenness*.

As to Explication of this clause, it remains only to be added to what has been abovesaid of it, that the word *Princes* may be interpreted either,

1. Of the Supreme, the King himself. Or,

2. Of Subordinate Nobles or Governours: as we read usually in the Scripture of Kings

Kings and their Princes, that is, Peers or Ministers of State. Or,

3. Perhaps it is the best way not to understand it singly or solely of either, but jointly of both.

And truly there is very good reason for this last Interpretation. For generally if the Prince Supreme, that is, the King himself be temperate and virtuous, the Princes subordinate will be so too; Temperance and Virtue will grow into fashion at Court. And thus taken, this our second part not only in general asserts, *the Sovereigns Virtue to be the Peoples Blessedness*, but gives us a main specialty of that Blessedness, *Virtue and good Manners will generally prevail in such a Kingdome*; than which there cannot be a greater good to a Kingdome.

And this we will take as the first point of Advantage accruing to a People by their *Kings being virtuous*, His Example will take: It will have influence first on them that are next him, the Nobles, Grandees or Favourites: It will from them diffuse it self through all Orders and Ranks of Men: for where shall not so powerful a Precedent be drawn into imitation. The very Defects and natural Blemishes of Kings have been affected: how much more shall

shall their Honours & Excellencies be copied? This is matter of constant experience; *Qualis Rex, talis Grex*, the People will be like their King. If *David* be a war-like Prince, you shall hear of *David's Worthies*: His Courtiers shall be *Heroes* as he is. If *Solomon* grow effeminate, the Subjects shall all degenerate with him; Not a good Soldier in all his Reign, but what was left by his Father *David*. And so in case of other Qualities.

Now, without doubt, as there is no such Plague to a Nation, as the Corruption of the publick Manners; so, I say, no greater Blessing, than the Melioration of them. The *Roman Empire*, say its Historians, grew to its height by *Temperance, Industry and Justice*. When its *Cesars* became wicked, and meer voluptuaries, it soon fell, [*stantibus Mœnibus, ruentibus Moribus*] by the decay of its Manners, though its Walls stood. *Blessed* therefore art thou, O Land, when thy Princes eat in season, for Strength, and not for Drunkenness.

And from this first Advantage will by plain natural causality flow a multitude of others, more indeed than is easie to comprehend or enumerate. What an Influence upon the Justice of the Nation must the general

neral Virtue of the Prince and Grandees have? For certainly the more virtuous they are, who administer Justice, the more equal Justice will be administred. *Virtue* will be *encouraged*, consulted and upheld, virtuous men preferred and exalted; *Vice* discountenanc'd and punisht; *serious Religion* as well as *civil Rights* maintained, and all the honest *Designs and Desires* of good men will generally succeed.

Again, how must the same influence all publick Councils and Transactions? When the Prince and his Council are ever clear and mature, when they have ever both temper and time to think, are intent and watchful, ready to take all advantages for Good, and to foresee publick Evils in their remote causes, while they yet want strength to be mischievous, what may not be hoped for? From hence it is plain, those forementioned so popular Goods of *Wealth, Ease, and Quiet* are in the fairest way to be provided for.

Especially considering, lastly, that so regular Lives and Manners of Prince, Nobles and People conspiring (as is supposed) in Temperance, and in general Virtue, must needs derive Gods Blessing both upon them all, and upon the whole Management and Administration of things. For God will

will certainly verify the Word which he has publisht, or, as I may say, his Faith which he has given, to the world; Say ye to the righteous, it shall be well with them, they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Isai. iii. 10. And Righteousness and Peace will assuredly meet and kiss each other. Upon all accounts then we may pronounce, Blessed art thou, O Land, when thy Princes eat in due season, for Strength, and not for Drunkenness.

To come now to *Application*, and to bring all we have said to some serious, practical result.

If we reflect and consider with our selves, we shall certainly find *we are a blessed Land*, and that in both the regards specified in the Text. We cannot surely but be sensible of that profound Peace and general Prosperity which God has vouchsafed us in this Kingdom under our present Sovereign: These are most obvious to every mans notice, and I may say, whether we will or no, we cannot but perceive them. But perhaps the immediate Combination, and happy Conspiracy of *Causes*, which God makes use of to effect these, all of us do not consider. Now I cannot tell whether any truer causes can be assigned hereof than these in my Text. We have a King
both

both *who is the Son of Nobles, and who eats in due season, for Strength, and not for Drunkenness.* A Virtue! which will make not only Princes, but even common mens affairs succeed well; and it were to be wished to many meaner men, for their own sakes, that there were more of this in the world. For if Luxury has exhausted the Treasures of Kings and Kingdoms, it will much more easily and certainly consume private Estates. But to return to the publick. Our Sovereigns not only Virtues, but Extraction, Title, and Interest (God be blessed) render him great and potent: and hereto, I say, namely, to his Extraction and Title, to his Virtues and Interest, we do certainly under God, as much as to any thing, owe our present Quiet and flourishing Estate. *Flourishing Estate* I called it: for if will be true to our selves, there is nothing to make our Condition in general otherwise, except the unreasonable Fears, or possibly the Narrowness of some of our own Hearts. Wherefore.

1. Let us seriously and from the ground of our hearts *give God thanks* for our present King, for his settling him in his Throne, for the Quiet and Ease which we enjoy thereby, and for his happy and auspicious

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spicious Reign over us hitherto. Methinks no man amongst us, who has his Senses exercised, should be backward in this Office. I do not know that any is: However I exhort that none be. I will plainly make the challenge to any: What Blessing could you desire (at least, which you can prove to be a publick Blessing) what Blessing, I say, could you desire to enjoy, from or under any Prince, which is not at present indulged under our Gracious Sovereign. Have we not *Property* and *Liberty*, and, if we will not break it our selves, *sacred* as well as *civil Peace*? In a word, we are either stupid, or besides our selves with prejudices, if we are not sensible what Complications of Blessings we enjoy: and we are most vilely ungrateful, if being sensible thereof, we pay not our ardent and cordial Praise to God for His Majesty, under whom we enjoy them.

2. Because true Gratitude lies not only in Words and Professions, nor yet in some high-flown Ceremonies and Rodomontades amidst our Jollities and Revels, let us be careful (what we have been often exhorted to do) that both *our selves* and *all under us* maintain *unspotted Loyalty* to our King: This will be real Thankfulness to him; and the contrary thereto (which I
hope

hope we all abhor) would be the highest and most unnatural Ingratitude both to God and him. To be plain: I do not believe, as to the business of Rebellion, there is any fear we of these parts shall ever break out into it, or side with those who do: I cannot be so unjust as so much as to surmise it: but give me leave to tell you, there are *other Violations of Loyalty*, besides running out into open Arms or Warlike Hostility against our Kings, to which Violations the Manners and Humours of the late Age have rendred most of us, of the present Age, too much addicted. I will reckon up three of them, and I, in the name of God, as you would not approve your selves unthankful to God and the King, warn you all of them.

In the *first* place I name *unreasonable fears*: so unreasonable indeed as to be grossly *unjust*; because they are both against what His Majesty has promised, and against what we yet find he does perform. Now shall we neither believe a King upon his Word, nor upon his Performances? What a miserable condition are Princes in, if they of all men are the persons, who on no terms may be credited or trusted? Let us in the name of God take heed of such monstrous Disloyalty. Akin hereunto are,

Secondly,

Ver Regius. 31

Secondly, Those *abominable Misconstructions*, which too commonly the generality of men are apt to put upon particular acts of the Government. If a Prince take but a prudential course to secure his Authority, there are many shall say, he makes preparation to destroy his People. Now what an unreasonable thing is it to imagine any Prince should wittingly set himself to destroy his People? Does he not thereby, not only manifestly every minute hazard his own Life (for every minute may malice be working) but even directly destroy himself as a Prince. *In the multitude of People is the Kings Honour: but in the want of People is the Destruction of the Prince*, Prov. xiv. 28. to destroy therefore his People is, I say, to destroy himself. And certainly, if there be any Prince living, that by his Actions may seem to have been prodigal of his peoples Lives, of all the Princes in Christendom our present Sovereign never did (nor indeed any of this Line ever) give any reasons to be suspected hereof. Wherefore let us abhor also this degree of Disloyalty. And the same let me say,

Lastly, As to *Misreports*, which are as frequent as Misconstructions, and but the effects of them; (for still, *Out of the abundance*

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dance of the heart the mouth will speak.) This is an Evil expressly forbidden within two verses of my Text. *Curse not the King, no nor in thy thought*, ver. 20. Cursing in the Hebrew Idiom usually signifies only *speaking evil of*: Now, so much as a *thought* hereto we may not advance; much less may we directly break that Command transfused from the Old Testament into the New, and strictly exemplified by the great Apostles practice. *Act. xxiii. Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy People*, though (as in that case) a Jew, Infidel, or vilest enemy to Christianity. I pray you, let us all be tender of these three lesser instances (as to some they may seem) of Disloyalty, as knowing that they lead to greater, indeed to direct and the highest Treason.

To conclude the whole: Let us first of all *keep close each of us to God* in a conscientious discharge of our Duty to him, trusting in him at all times, and pouring out our hearts before him especially whensoever we are amused or afraid (*Psal. lvi. 3. What time I am afraid I will trust in God.*)

Let us next *maintain our Duty to our King*, trusting him also, as under God our Safeguard and Defender, conceiving of, interpreting and reporting all his Actions

as fairly as we can, which is no more, than both in Loyalty, Justice and Charity we are bound to.

Let us, lastly, be as *helpful, sweet and obliging to one another*, as we would have others to be to our selves: In a word, let us be *easy to our selves and others*, and by this means as we are at present, so I doubt not but we may continue *a blessed Land under Kings the Sons of Nobles and Princes, who eat for Strength, and not for Drunkenness*. The continuance of which Mercy God grant to us through Jesus Christ our Lord.

To whom &c.

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Christian Law
O F T H E
S W O R D .

Both as to its


Publick & Private Use,

Briefly stated in a

S E R M O N

A T

Christchurch in the City of Cork.



Preached upon Octob. 23. being by Statute
an Anniversary Thanksgiving in the
Kingdom of Ireland. In the year 1685.

By *Edward* Lord Bishop of *Cork* and *Rosse*.

Dublin, Printed by *A. Crook* and *S. Helsham*,
for *William Norman*, *Samuel Helsham* and
Eliphaz Dobson Booksellers. 1685.

284:08

Advertisement.

T*His Sermon being drawn up at first in haste, I had once thought to have alter'd some small Irregularities in its Method, which that haste occasioned. Of the seven Points, which in a general sense I call Conclusions, I would have advanced three under the style of Propositions; namely these,*

First. That God alone Originally and Sovereignly has

*the Power of Humane Life and
Death,*

*Secondly. That the Deri-
vative or Delegated Power
hereof in every Kingdom or
Commonwealth is immedi-
ately from and under God
in the supreme Magistrate
alone,*

*Thirdly. That the supreme
Magistrate exerciseth this
Power either in the Admi-
nistration of Civil Justice, or
of Lawful War.*

*And from these three I would
have deduced the other Points,
viz. That no one, of him-
self,*

self, is Lord of his own Life,
and the rest, as Conclusions in a
stricter sense, and by a closer
method of consequence. But up-
on better consideration (as I think)
I resolved not to alter the Frame
of the Discourse from that, where-
in it was at first contrived and de-
livered, but to publish it nakedly,
such as it was born,

Besides the grand Design
here carried on all along, which
is to assert the Sovereign
Power of the Sword under
God to the supreme Magi-
strate alone, there are several
lesser ones which I proposed to
my self, as conceiving them ne-
cessary to be inculcated in the
present

present juncture: namely, to evince the dreadful sinfulness of Suicide, or killing a mans self (as Sin as it would seem by some mens private Discourses as well as Practices now coming apace in fashion) and of Dueling, which has been too long in fashion; as also to state what may be done in case of self-defence, and on what grounds Violence in such behalf may be justified, with some other touches (possibly on cognate Points, which I trust are not unseasonable. But on these occasions the Reader will take notice, there are two or three small Additions made to what was delivered in the Pulpit: which Additions have

have carefully marked by enclosing them in right-angled Parentheses thus []. I have that great person, Bishop Saunderson, as a precedent in this practice; and therefore hope, I shall herein be more favourably censured.

This Sermon was only preached at the place and time specified.

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THE CHRISTIAN

Law of the Sword,

Both as to its

Publick and Private Use.

Briefly stated in a

*Sermon preach'd at Christchurch
Cork, &c. Octob. xxiii. 1685.*

The TEXT.

Matth. xxvi. 52. — *Put up thy Sword into
its place: for all they that take the Sword
shall perish with the Sword.*

TO the end we may more perfectly comprehend the true occasion and full import of these words, it will be expedient to look back to the
forty

2 The Christian Law

forty seventh verse, where we find our Lord betrayed into the hands of an armed Rabble, *a great multitude with Swords and Staves*, they are there called. After the Traytors Ceremonies and the Solemnities of the Treason were over, St. Peter (the best spirited, or most metall'd, person amongst all our Lords Followers) sensible of his Masters danger, *having a Sword, drew it, and strook a Servant of the High Priests, and cut off his Ear* (ver. 51.) As to the hurt done to the person wounded, our Lord forthwith *miraculously cured* that: But as to Good St. Peters *Officiousness* (for so it is to be named rather than Service) that *received* no other entertainment but *check and chiding*, and that in three verses together; of which the Text is the first: *Then Jesus said unto him, put up thy Sword into its place: for all they that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword.*

Which words need a little Explanation, at least for *restraining two phrases*, in them; else they will scarce be admitted as universally true. For neither can it be said, that *all, who in any sense take the Sword*, are thereby guilty of Sin; nor even that *all who sinfully take the Sword do*, as to the event, *actually perish by the Sword.*

[As to the *Check* here given to St. Pe-

ter;

of the Sword.

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ter; Put up thy Sword into its place, I may suppose that plain enough: especially seeing another Evangelist hath reported it, Put up thy Sword into its Sheath. That truly (I mean the Sheath) is the only due place of a Sword, when it is by *Peters*, or indeed by any Clergy-mans side. Let it, I say, be kept in the Scabbard, if a Clergy-man wear it: or rather let him not wear it at all; as mindful that his Coat is a more legal Defensative to him than his Weapon. *Si Clericus Arma ferens verberetur, non incidit in Canonem verberans. vid. Gloss. ad Causam 17. Quest. 4. Cap. Quisquis inventus fuerit.* But this by the by.]

The Reason given of this Check is much more dubious. For they that take the Sword, &c. and who are they that take the Sword in our Lords sense, or in the way here reprehended? Some have answered, they who take it (*ut interficiant*) with an intent to kill: but that's too large. For both Magistrate and Civil Officers, as well as Military men, take it with this intent, yet without sin. *Gratians* answer in the Canon Law is much better, and indeed very full and clear (*Ille Gladium accipit, qui nullâ superiori ac legitimâ Potestate jubente vel concedente in sanguinem alicujus armatur. Caus.*

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23. *Qu. 4. Ille Gladium*) He takes the Sword, says he, who is armed against the Life of any one, without the Command or Commission of a superiour lawful Power. So that there is a wide difference betwixt *accipere Gladium* & *suscipere*, taking the Sword, and receiving or undertaking it. The supreme Magistrate and those commissioned by him receive or undertake the Sword; the Magistrate from God, who has committed it to him by putting him in the place he holds; the Civil Officer and Souldier from the Magistrate, who has commissioned both: But they take the Sword, who of their own rash or headstrong Will usurp it to themselves, be it on pretence forever.

Now such, saith our Saviour, *shall perish by the Sword*. But is this true? Have all Murderers or Rebels since our Lords saying these words gone out of the world by violent Deaths? Or have not some (most notorious & principal ones, even in our own memory) dyed in their beds? they have so indeed; but our Lord reports here *matter of Law*, not of *History* or *Prophecie*. As to the *Event* it is not true, that *all who take the Sword perish by the Sword*; but as to the *Sentence of the Law* and *demerit of the Sin*, there can be nothing of more constant and

of the Sword.

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and perpetual truth, than that all such are guilty of Murder, and incur the Penalty, or really forfeit Life. The *Law* in this case seems in a manner of the *same date with mankind*. For in the Old world, when *Cain* had murder'd his Brother *Abel*, *It shall come to pass, saith he, that every one that findeth me shall slay me.* This Fear, or Expectation of his, could arise from nothing else, but the demerit of his Sin, by reason of some *Law*, either *innate* or even then *promulgate* for the punishing Murder with death. But upon the reinstating mankind upon earth, after the Flood, it was immediately *in terminis* or expressly published, *Genes. ix. 6. Whoso sheddeth mans Blood, by Man shall his Blood be shed.* It is by *Moses's* Law reinforced; *Life for Life*, *Exod. xxi. 23.* And for ought I can see, the Execution under it was as quick as the Law; for amongst the Jews, *at Common Law*, if I may so speak in their State, the person or persons next akin were the *Avenge*rs of Blood, and they slew the Murderer as soon as they could meet him; nor do I find any Tryal in case of Murder amongst the Jews till the *Cities of Refuge* were set up, and even then, in case of manifest and plain Murder, the Tryal did not lie; but as before said, *the Avenger of Blood was to*

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6 The Christian Law

slay the Murderer as soon as he met him
Numb. xxxv. 15, 16, &c. Thus was the
 Law in this matter before our Lords time;
 and he in the Text rather gives it an
 Evangelical Sanction, than mitigates it. So
 that as to the merit of the Crime, by le-
 gal Sentence, there can be no Question.
 And I may truly add, that there is no case
 wherein God more frequently takes the
 Forfeiture, or actually executes the Sen-
 tence of the Law, in this world, than in
 the case of doing violence to the Lives of
 others. So far is this our Lords Speech
 true even as to *the Event also*, that perhaps
 not one Murderer in ten dies the death of
 other men.

The sum then of what our Lord avows
 to back his Rebuke, or the Check he gave
 St. Peter is this;

*That all those who of their own accord, and
 without due Authority, attempt or take away
 the Life of another, are before God guilty
 of Murder, and deserve the Punishment
 thereof, which is, to fall by the Hand of
 Justice.*

And for the asserting hereof, I do not
 think it is possible, I will not say to urge
 but even to devise any Evidence of such
 advantageous circumstances, as this in the
 Text: I will therefore press it more di-
 stinctly.

It has ever generally been esteemed *lawful to repel Force with Force*. Now we see our Lord was here most forcibly *seised*, and that as was evident in order to suffer all the Violence and Cruelty, which Malice could exercise upon him: yet never before appeared such *Innocence and Holiness* in humane Nature, as from his very Conception and Cradle, had shone in him. Whether the *Powers* which commanded his Seisure were *just* or no, we will not now examine; it is most sure, *their use* of their Power against him was the *unjustest* of any Instance assignable from the foundation of World. Further, St. Peter was one of our *Lords Followers*, and, if the Holy Jesus had had an House, *Menials*. Add hereto, the *Person* in whose defence he drew was so extraordinary, that not only his Words, but even his Presence might seem to warrant any act that was capable of being good, if done in his behalf. Lastly, even *himself* and his *Brethren* were in danger from that Rabble, as well as his Master. What a multitude of concurrent circumstances are there here to justify St. *Peters* act? Especially, I say, *his own defence*, the defence of his *Brethren*; nay, the defence of God himself in humane Nature, and all in a most just Cause, against Power

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more unjustly and more hellishly used, than ever any Power was or could be on the face of the Earth; and both before and in the behalf of a person vested with Power paramount to all under Heaven. Good God! can there be ever Case again like to this, so much, I say, as imagined? Yet for all this Peter is chid for his attempt; Put up thy Sword into its place: for they that take the Sword shall perish with the Sword. No Cause then so just, which can warrant private men to attempt the Life of others, without Authority from them, to whom God has entrusted the Power of the Sword.

For the further evidencing hereof I will lay down and make good the seven following Conclusions.

First. *God alone originally and sovereignly hath the power of humane Life and Death. Of the truth whereof there needs no other (as indeed there can no more solid) reason be given, than this, that he alone gave, or could give Life at first, and still he alone preserves and continues, or indeed can continue it. Mille via Mortis; there are a thousand ways of extinguishing Life, but either the Gift of it or the Continuance of it is alone from God. We, poor mortals, are so far from being able to give Life to any*

any thing, that we do not yet know what it is. That we live we know ; what Life is we know not : but daily Experience in our Friends and selves teacheth us, the the very preserving it in being, when given, at least to the term we would, is beyond the power of Art, Industry, Strength or even that little Omnipotent (as it is too usually looked upon) Money it self. A minute of it cannot be purchased by all the Treasures on or under Earth. *Psal. xlix. 8, 9. The Redemption of the Soul*, that is, the prorogation of Life (as there the phrase most certainly signifies) *is precious, and it ceaseth for ever : None can give to God a Ransome for it, that he should live for ever, and not see Death.* Any and all the least retrievals from it are of God alone, and proper to his Almighty Power, *Psal. lxviii. 20. He is the God of Salvation* even in this kind, *and to God the Lord belong the Issues from Death.* Now seeing it was he alone, who when he had formed the Body of the first Man, breathed into him the Breath of Life, so that Man became a living Soul, seeing also it is he, whose Visitation preserveth mans Spirit, how can it in Reason or Justice be conceived, that any besides him should have Sovereign Power of Life and Death? How should any have

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right to take away, what neither they by themselves, nor by any principal from whence they derive, could ever give? God therefore alone, I say, has original and sovereign power of Life and Death.

2. *The derivative Power hereof in every Kingdom or Commonwealth is immediately in the supreme Magistrate alone; that is, God has in every such publick Body committed this Power to none immediately, but to those whom therein he has made Supreme.*

By the *Supreme Magistrate* in every Nation, I mean that Civil Power, whose acts are not under the Controll of another, so

Summa [Potestas Civilis] illa dicitur, cujus actus alterius juri non subsunt, ita ut alterius voluntatis humanae arbitrio irriti possint reddi. Grot. de Jur. Bell. & par. l. 1. c. 3. §. 7.

that they may be annull'd or made void at the pleasure of other humane Will.

Now such Magistrates the Apostle St. Paul uses to style *Powers*, Rom. xiii. 1, 2. Tit. iii. 1. And touching such Power, or (which is the same, for he there uses the terms *Powers* and *Rulers* indifferently for one another) touching such Ruler, he says expressly, ver. 4. *He is the Minister of God (Gods Agent or Vicegerent) a Revenger to execute wrath*
upon

of the Sword.

II

upon every one that doth evil. He is the Minister of God, to wit, *He alone immediately within his Territories, and no other but from, by or under him.* Nor can there be a greater proof hereof than our Lords Practice here in the Text. Might any person, not being Supreme Magistrate, claim to himself a right to take the Sword, how is it possible that St. Peter should have been reprehensible in drawing his Sword, in the circumstances he did, upon the mixed multitude of Jews and Romans sent by the Authority of the *Sanhedrim* and *Roman Prefect*? If there had been any Power of this nature in any private person, not derived from the Supreme Power, certainly he could not have wanted it in the present juncture. Yet you hear how solemnly and severely our Lord reprehends him for the Attempt. And as neer as Christ was to his Death at the time of this Event in the Text, before he departed out of the world, he put another Seal to this truth. When *Pilate* after our Lords first Arraignment before him, and upon a strict Examination, a little arrogantly thus expostulates with him, viz. *Knowest thou not that I have power to crucifie thee, and have power to release thee?* *Jesus answered, thou couldest have no power*

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over me, except it were given thee from above. John xix. 10, 11. In which words, if we consider *who Pilate was*, namely, the *Roman Governour* sent to them by *Cesar* (the Supreme) we have a most plain Testimony, that however wicked Supreme Powers may be, or however wickedly they may use their Power, yet is their Power given them by God, and none may invade it, or take upon him to exercise it, but as they shall impart or delegate it. The Power of the Sword therefore, or of Life and Death, is by God committed only to the Supreme Magistrate, that is, as I presume none here will scruple, within these Kingdoms to his Majesty.

Thirdly. From hence it necessarily follows, that *No one of himself can be Lord of his own Life*. For he is no more to execute the power of the Sword upon himself, than upon another; because he, as well as others, is a Subject. I know the *contrary practice*, namely dispatching a mans self out of life has been celebrated as an *heroically virtuous act* by divers *Heathens*, and some great persons amongst them have been admired and commended for it extremely.

But of all Examples, Heathen mens are surely least to be drawn into Rules, for the

of the Sword. 13

the Authorising of doubtful Actions. [There is a Book also writ by a Christian Doctor of our Church, which is rather slandered than truly reported to maintain the *Lawfulness of Self-slaughter*. But those who have read and understand that Book, know, the Authors design therein was but to move men to more charitable Judgment than usually is put on such, who lay violent hands upon themselves; and that he perswades (amongst others) by this great Argument; that the *Act does not ever preclude Repentance*; but that 'tis possible the very *Attrition*, which some such persons may be thought to have (*in articulo mortis*) in the very expiring, their Souls may be interpreted by God as a sincere Sorrow. Now his supposing this act pardonable upon Repentance, admits it to be a Sin; and then being by us known or even but strongly conceived to be so, it will be damnable. For *he that doubteth is damned, if he act, because he acteth not of Faith. Rom. xiv. ult.*] To be short, the instances we find of it in Scripture are only of wicked and desperate men, and that when they have been rejected by God, forsaken by his Spirit, and an evil Spirit has seised them. Thus as to *Saul*, long before that desperate act of falling on his own Sword;

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14 The Christian Law

(1 Sam. xxxi. 5.) *The Spirit of God had departed from him, and an evil Spirit from the Lord troubled him; chap. xvi. 14. that is, he was in a sort permitted to the Devil to be actuated by him. So as to Judas, after the Sop Satan entred into him, (John xiii. 27) and then he quickly sold and betrayed his Master, and went and hanged himself. Laqueo Traditor periit. Laqueum talibus dereliquit, says St. Austin (ad Petilianum.) The Traytor dyed by the Halter, and left the Halter only to such as himself. The like deplorable and dreadful condition, as to his spiritual concerns at least, may we reasonably conclude that Devilish Counsellor Achitophel to have been in, when being enraged that Absolon would not take his hellish Advice, he also went home and hanged himself. Besides these three, I remember no instance in Canonical Scripture of any who directly slew themselves. Sampson indeed, as in case of other Miracles done by him, so by immediate and extraordinary impulse of the Spirit of God (that is, by Divine Warrantie and Command) pull'd down the Philistines great Hall of Judgment upon them and himself amongst them: But this is only parallel to a great Soldiers going on certain death, to defeat the Enemy, when*
duly

duly commissioned so to do! and therefore must not come into account here. There is besides in the *Apocryphal Books* an instance of one who acted most barbarous violence on himself; first falling on his own Sword, and then pulling out his very own Bowels, and throwing them amongst his Enemies, rather than he would fall into their hand to dye by them: and he is there commended for that inhumane act, which is stiled *dying manfully*. *2 Maccab. xiv. 42, &c.* But as that Book, according to what the Author of it himself in the two last verses confesses in effect, was not written by Divine Inspiration, so were there nothing else in it to prove it Apocryphal, this alone that it commends what is so much *against Nature* both for the *matter and manner* of the Action were abundantly sufficient.

But besides, [it is most true, what was well said in another case by an old Bishop of Carlisle in *Richard* the Seconds time, *We are not to live by examples, but by Laws.*] The *Law of God* runs indefinitely, and so (because there is no ground for a Restriction as to this case) universally, *thou shalt not murder*; that is, neither another, nor thy self. Which Interpretation must, indeed of necessity, be admitted here; for that

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that our Lord himself makes the Love which we bear to our selves, to be the measure or standard of the Love we owe to others. *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour, saith he, as thy self.* Which extending to *all the Precepts of the second Table*, will as to *this* run thus; thou shalt no more murder thy Neighbour than thy self; that is, first of all thou shalt not murder thy self. And though there be not in the Law of God any Precept more particular or more expressly prohibitive as to this act, (as neither is there upon very grounds, against several other most unnatural Sins that might be named,) yet is there all Reason in the world against it. For, let us faithfully examine, Is the Root whence this act proceeds such from whence good Fruit may be expected? Is its true cause at any time good or truly praise-worthy? Was there ever person, yet who laid violent hands upon himself, who did it not either out of *Pride*, *Cowardice*, *Rashness*, or *mad Despair*? Out of *Pride*, I say; because either he would not crouch to his betters, or else see his equals become his superiors: or out of *Cowardice*, as afraid to suffer what his Enemies might put him to; (now in both these cases, is it not more brave to dare to live? or out of *Rashness* and *Madness*, or *Despair*; as impatient of pre-

sent evils, and hoping in this Life no better state. And if out of any of these, is it at all commendable? True Philosophy it self taught better, and forbad, *Injussu Imperatoris, id est Dei, de Præsidio & statione vita decedere.* "The true Chri-

Pythagoras
teste Cice-
ne in Cat.
Maj.

"stian, like a good Soldier,
"must not forsake his post, except the
"great Emperor of the world, the Al-
"mighty God, by his Law or Providence,
"command him thence.

[* *Malus servus creditus est,*
saith Ulpian, *qui aliquid fa-*
cit, quo magis se rebus huma-
nis extrahat, ut puta laque-
um torfit, &c. "He's adjudged an ill

* L. Cum autem
23. §. Excipi-
tur 3. De Ædi-
lit. Edict.

"Servant (by the Civil Laws) who but
"prepares any thing to dispatch himself
"out of this world; as if he fit an Hal-
"ter, mix Poison or the like; And much
more such is he, who destroys himself by any
of these: For such a Servant plainly steals
himself thereby out of his Masters Service,
and so does every man himself out of
Gods, who removes himself hence before
God dismisses him. Nay the Laws we
spoke of go further as to this
point affirming, (* *Neminem*
Dominum membrorum suorum)

* L. Liber ho-
mo. 13. §. ad
L. Aquil.

none

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none to be Lord of his own Limbs ; nor is it by them ordinarily permitted to any, without the consent of his Superiors, so much as to cut off a Limb, for the saving the rest of the Body. Which, though possibly in some circumstances too strict, yet shews according to the sense of those Law-givers (who were reputed, and I believe not unjustly, some of the wisest in the world) that there is no one of so private a condition, in whom his Prince and Country may not so far challenge a right, as to divest him of the sole power of disposing of himself.

I will conclude this point of *Self-slaughter* (which, by this time, I think I may be bold to stile *Self-murder*) with a famous passage of St. *Austin*, transcribed out of him into the body of the Canon Law.

Hoc dicimus, hoc asserimus, hoc modis omnibus approbamus, neminem sponsaneam mortem sibi inferre debere, velut fugiendo Sc. De Civitat. Dei, l. cap. vide plura causa, 23. Qu. 5. Si non licet.

“ This, saith he,
 “ we say, this we
 “ affirm, this we
 “ by all possible
 “ ways avow, that
 “ no one may bring
 “ voluntary death
 “ upon himself, to
 “ escape thereby a-
 “ ny temporal pains, least he fall into e-
 “ ternal

“ ternal ones : No one may do it by rea-
 “ son of anothers sins, lest he thereby be-
 “ gin to have most grievous sin of his
 “ own ; nor because of any of his own
 “ past sins, for the curing of which by Re-
 “ pentance, he has more need to continue
 “ in life. Nor through desire of a better
 “ life, which may be hoped for after death ;
 “ because a better Life after Death, be-
 “ longs not to him who is guilty of his
 “ own Death.

This then is our third Conclusion ; No
 one is Lord so much as of his own Life.

Fourthly. *Whosoever therefore pretends
 or exercises a Power over other mens Lives,
 must either derive that Power from the Su-
 preme Magistrate to whose Dominions he be-
 longs, or in case he do not, he becomes by such
 Exercise or Attempts, either an Usurper, or
 Murderer, or both.* If he pretend to a *pub-
 lick Power* herein, not deriving it as afore-
 said, he is an *Usurper*, and that, as gene-
 rally it comes to pass in all *Usurpers*, is
 as much as a *publick Murderer*. If he exer-
 cise only a *private Power*, as suppose in
 righting or avenging himself or any third
 person against some single injurious man,
 he hereby becomes a *private Murderer* : at
 least before God, in case the Life of him-
 self, or of any other, be but hazarded by
 his

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his Act. This is most plain: for having no such Power in himself, and it being by God committed only to the Magistrate, he can never come by it regularly and in Gods way, except he receive it from them, to whom God has committed it. Thus, though the whole remains of *Sauls* House were in open Hostility against *David*, and *Ishbosheth* particularly so keen an Enemy to *David*s person that he sought his Life, yet when *Baanah* and *Rechab* under pretence to do *David* a Service, and avenge their Lord the King of *Saul* and his Seed, go in privately to *Ishbosheth*s House, and take off his Head to bring it as a present to *David*, *David* pronounces Sentence against them both as Murderers; because though there were a publick Quarrel, yet these two officious wretches, having no Commission to act or interpose therein, could not derive any Right or Authority for what they did either from God or Man. 2 Sam iv. 9, &c. Admit *Ishbosheth* did deserve Death, yet these men had no right to inflict it on him. Thus as to our fourth Conclusion.

The fifth is, *The Magistrate exerciseth this Power of the Sword, either in the Administration of Civil Justice, or of lawful War.* A third way, I think, cannot be assigned: and

and therefore, as we will more fully touch by and by, whosoever pretend to have received Power of Life and Death from the Magistrate but are neither Civil Officers, or legitimately enrolled in the Martial List, are still by such pretence no better than Murderers.

First, as to matter of *Civil Justice*: the persons usually commissioned herein, are either those who dispence the Laws, as *Judges, Justices*, and the like; or those who execute them, as *Sheriffs* and *Under-Officers*. That both these sorts of men must derive their Power from the *King as Supreme*, or else cannot act warrantably, I think none will question. We have precedents enough in the Jewish Kingdom. In *Dauids* time, 2 *Sam.* viii. 15, 16, &c. But more explicitly afterwards: 2 *Chron.* xix. 5, 6. to the end; *Jehosophat* there set Judges in the Land, some *fixed*, as it would seem, *through all the fenced Cities of Judah City by City*: others *itinerant*, who went out and returned to *Jerusalem*. ver. 8. And the Subordination of Officers to the ordinary Judges, as well as of the Judges to the Supreme Powers, we have account of, not only in the Old Testament, but even from our Lord himself in the Gospels. *Matth.* v. 25. *Luk.* xii. 58. Here

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is the *ἄρχων*, Magistrate (we render it) or Prince, that is he * who has
 * *Vid. Grot.* Power to appoint the Judge :
in loc. The *κριτής*, or Judge, who is
 to determine Controversies
*between Bloud and Bloud, according to Law
 and Commandment, Statutes and Judgments.*
 And lastly here is the *ῥητορ*, the Exactor,
 as the word signifies, whose business it was
 to put or see put the Sentence in Executi-
 on.

Thus we see how this Civil Power of the Sword was legally and orderly derived, diffused and managed amongst the Jews. And the same God of Order still governs the world, and both does, and ever will delight in Order.

Secondly. When Civil Justice cannot take place, the Magistrate exercises the Power of the Sword in *lawful War*. Sometimes Offenders are too numerous for civil Punishments, and stand in justification of their Crimes against the Powers which God has ordained. Sometimes not so much a few private persons, as whole Nations, at least those who manage National concerns, may be injurious to a neighbouring People : And in such case Justice cannot be done without War. Now here also the Magistrate *bears not the Sword in*
vain :

vain : but he is to raise what armed Force he sees fit, for the righting or defending himself or people. And his people are to be obedient to him, to stand by him with Lives and Estates, and to serve him in the War ; And whomsoever he *Commissions*, not only *may*, according to the tenor of their *Commission* (which by the way they are to take care they do not exceed) but *ought*, to use the *Sword* ; for supposing the War lawful, the Duty of the Subject in this case follows by necessary consequence.

Now you'l say, when is a War lawful ?

1. When there is such *necessity* of it as before suggested ; that is, when *Publick Justice or Right cannot take place without it* ; and when the *Benefit*, which is sought by it, is ample enough to *countervail all the visible mischiefs* of the War. In which case the *Supreme Power* is *Judge* ; not the people, who cannot be supposed competently to understand the publick state of things and circumstances.

2. When the War is *made by the Authority that has Power* to make it ; namely, by the *Supreme* in every Nation. For we have heard, though the Cause be just, every one may not of his own head take

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the Sword, but a lawful Commission is to be expected.

3. In the general, it is requisite also to a lawful War, that it be *publicly proclaimed*; that is, Justice should be demanded, the obstinate summoned to their Duty, and no proceeding till such Duty or Justice be refused. Somewhat very near this God expressly commanded the people of the Jews, *Deuteronom. XX. 10, 11, &c. When thou comest to a City to fight against it, thou shalt proclaim Peace to it— And if it will make no Peace with thee, but will make War against thee, thou shalt besiege it, &c.* But if Justice may be had with Peace, Peace certainly is to be preferred.

Lastly. Even War it self should be *managed lawfully*; and Justice, Redress, or Satisfaction only sought, not Revenge. Cruelty should be as much forborn, and Mercy as much exercised as publick Safety would admit. These things will be further useful to us by and by. In the mean while let this stand as our fifth Conclusion. The Magistrate exercises the Power of the Sword either in Civil Justice or lawful War.

Sixthly. *All designed taking away the Life of man, otherwise than in a way of Civil Justice*

Justice or lawful War (and that also, unless by such only as are respectively commissioned by the Magistrate) is *Murder*; yea the very *Attempt of it Murder in the Eye of God*. For, out of these two cases, no man can have any thing to do lawfully with the Sword.

You'l say, What should 'a man do in case of his own *ntcessary Defence*? I answer.

1. *I may not directly and ordinarily design to take away anothers Life in my own defence.* It may so come to pass that I may be so unhappy as to be necessitated to do that, from whence it may ensue: but, if I be guiltless of Bloud therein, my killing the man was *indirectly, by accident and consequent*, not by *design*. The thing I designed, or ought to have designed, was only *disabling him*, and thereby *securing my self*: the killing the man in this behalf falls out beyond my intention, in case I am innocent. And even this, the utter disabling a man to hurt me, ought not *ordinarily*, I say, to be done: for *ordinarily* a man may defend himself, if he will be prudent, and use all advantages he has, without hazarding his own or his Neighbours Life, and perhaps without mutilating eithers person.

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But it will be said, This case of *Self-Defence* comes *neither* under *Civil Justice* nor *Lawful War*. I answer therefore,

2. 'Tis *mixt* of both. In case I am set upon by Robbers, or by like unreasonable men, who attempt my Life, besides that the *Law of Nature* gives me a *Warrant* to defend my self against *lawless Violence*, every *honest peaceable Subject* may in such circumstances where other Officers cannot be had, be supposed by an implicit or virtual Concession or Commission of the Magistrate, to be an *Officer* to bring such miscreants to Justice; which bringing them to Justice, next to our own Defence, should be a principal part of every mans design in repelling Violence by Violence.

Again, it is fairly enough reducible to *lawful War*. For I am supposed in the present case assaulted with Weapons of War; and the Prince has not opportunity to command Civil Officers or armed men to my Relief and Protection. I cannot there-

In reos Majestatis & publicos hostes omnis homo miles est. Tertullian. Apolog.

fore but interpret I have his *Leave to fight* in Defence of the *Peace* and *my self*, against the *Enemies of the Prince*, of his *Laws*, and *Government*; for such all Robbers and

Hectors

Hectors are. If there were in the case any opposing of those who were sent by the Magistrate, though by abuse of his Power, as it was in St. *Peters* case in the Text, I could pretend to no right in my own Defence, but I must submit.

In like manner, if I my self begun the Quarrel, and were the first assailant: for in both these cases I were injurious to the Magistrate and could not reasonably interpret any such Favour from him belonging to me. But being thus illegally attempted, I have Justice, the Law of Nature and of my Prince upon my side: I act under and not against the Equity of this sixth Conclusion.

Seventhly and lastly. It being evident by what has been abovesaid, that the Military as well as Civil Sword belongs only to the Supreme Magistrate; therefore *the levying or waging War without or against his Commission is* (by the Text) *Murder*, and perhaps upon other grounds *more*. It is certainly such a taking the Sword, as deserves perishing by the Sword. To speak the same thing in terms more accommodate to our Government: For any person or persons to levy or make War within these Kingdoms without the Kings Commission or against those who are com-

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missionated by him, is, I say, and ever has been, by the Evangelical Law in the Text, Murder: and certainly, by right Reason as well as by other Law, somewhat more than Murder, namely, *Rebellion and Treason*. It is indeed the most dreadful and complicate Murder imaginable. It is first direct and plain Murder of all who fall by our hands. It is further Murder of our selves; of our Souls by Sin, of our Bodies by exposing our own Lives. Lastly, it is Murder of all we draw in with us, and that, as of our selves, both as to Soul and Body, without Gods great Mercy. But it is, besides all these, most proper and plain Rebellion; for it is a plain invading the Kings Right, and in part, or so far forth, a dethroning him; and there's no doubt, but if it succeed, it ends in total dethroning and murdering him too. After all which said, I may challenge both our old and later, our open-faced and our demure Rebels to make better of it if they can.

Upon the whole, the *sum* is, the Kings Majesty is amongst us the Fountain of all Power Civil and Military. Without a Commission from him, express or virtual, as before determined, none may either privately or publickly take the Sword;
or

or if they do, by the Law of God, though they act never so privately, they shall perish by the Sword, they have run into the Guilt, and incur'd the Punishment of Murderers.

Now by way of Application

First, for our own *Direction in the humbling our Souls before God* for our Sins: We may see by what has been said the *true Nature*, and learn the *true Names* of many of those *our Sins*, in the view or style of which possibly we have been too favourable. All the *rash Attempts* we have made on our own or others Life, however they have escaped the Sentence of human Laws, are by the Law of God no less than Murder: *He that taketh the Sword shall perish by the Sword*; that is, as we have heard, deserves it as a Murderer. All those *Duels* and *Rencontres*, which our Wine, Passions, or other disorders, nay which the Importunity of Associates, which false-named Friendship and vain Honour, have at any time engaged us in, however we have come off, are before God so many acts of Murder, and we our selves, (*toties quoties*) Murderers. To which private Sins of our own, if we
add

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add those direct and actual Murders which are and have been committed in this Nation, not only in Duels (a barbarous Custome yet in all ages, especially these later most impiously frequent) but *Masacres* and *Rebellions* (not to speak of other more private methods of Murders on occasion of *Robberies* and by *malicious lying in wait*, *Poison*, *Treachery*, *false Accusations*, and some like ways of *killing men, under pretence of Justice*;) if, I say, we add all these together, good God ! under what a weight of Bloudguiltiness does this Nation lye ! And what need have, even the innocent, to be in daily Prayers to God, that some overflowing Scourge sweep not them away with the guilty ! But much more then, what need have all that have been guilty, (and particularly, if any of them, who had their hands in the work of this time was four and forty years, do yet survive, what need have they) to be not only in Prayers but Tears night and day, if so be their unchristian taking, and inhumane using of the Sword, may be forgiven unto them. Sure it is, whatsoever some men may flatter themselves and others, Sins of so deep a dy will never be forgiven without profound Repentance.

I have heard there are many persons abroad

broad in this Kingdom at present, who utterly deny there was any *Rebellion of the Irish* at the time we assign it : nay, I have read some of their Papers giving an account of those Commotions, as they would be content to have them termed, that style them [*Iustissimum sanctimumque Bellum pro Fide.*] *A most just and holy War for the Faith.* I could wish from my heart that all the Cruelties which were then, or have been since acted, were utterly forgot, and I beseech God forgive them, as far as any of the Actors or the Abettors of them are yet in a state remissible. But I cannot consent to, nor endure to let pass uncontrolled such miscalling of things, lest men, supposing the things to answer the names, carry all away, in a course of self-deceit and flattery, to their own and others destruction.

First then, admitting, but not granting, that All That was the true Christian Faith, which the Natives generally then professed, Did they not then enjoy it, and had they not more Liberty of it before they broke out into Arms than ever since? This was not then the Reason, why they took the Sword. But again, admit this were the Reason, can any Christian man, who considers what
he

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he says, maintain this Doctrine; That Subjects of their own heads may take up Arms, to obtain what Form of Religion they please for their Country; that is for them, who like not that Form of Religion, as well as for them who like it? This is not only unchristian, but most unreasonable to affirm. But,

Secondly, Was not the Sword taken, not only *without*, but *against the Kings Commission*, against those who were actually in Power, representing him, and commissioned by him? It was, I confess, a Calumny cast upon that glorious King and Martyr, *Charles the First*, that one of the Chieftains of the Rebels had produced His Majesties Commission for taking Arms; and indeed the person we mean did at first pretend so much. But I owe such Justice as well as Veneration to the Memory of that blessed Prince, that I cannot forbear openly to avow, I my self know the men yet living, who can attest they heard that very person, before his Execution, confess, the Royal Seal was taken off from an Instrument of another nature, (Letters Patents as I remember for some Lands) and cunningly affixed to that forged Commission, His Majesty having been never in the least acquainted with any of
their

of the Sword. 33

their designs. For these two reasons then it could be no lawful War: The Aggressors had neither *lawful Cause* nor *lawful Authority*; their Design, I say, being without and against the Royal Commission. And,

Thirdly, Let me demand, Was it a War *lawfully proclaimed*? Or was it not most industriously and marvellously concealed, not discovered but in one place, and that but a few hours (comparatively) before it broke out? Instead of thinking of any Hostility, were not the poor *English*, that suffered, secure in the Friendship and Familiarity of their Neighbours, when unawares, unarmed, without any Provocation they were set upon, and — I will not say how handled. Is this either a Just or Honourable way of making War?

Lastly. Was it managed in a *lawful and Christian sort*? Were the Qualities and Condition of the persons, who fell in the first five months, such as constituted them fit Objects for the Sword of a just War? Or were the kinds of Death, by which they dyed, becoming Christians to inflict? Or was the number of the slain proportionable to any damages could be pretended
to

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to have been sustained by the assailants, even according to the Rules of the most rigorous Justice? [One hundred and fifty four thousand Protestants, Men, Women and Children massacred between the Three and twentieth of *October* and the First of *March* following, by computation of the Priests themselves that were present, and were directed by the Principals engaged, to take a just computation; besides all afterwards, when they left off to compute, and the multitudes that fell in the War ensuing.] I will not speak so particularly as I could to all these Points; because my design is only to move to Repentance, not to refresh the memory of the injured: But in a word, here is not any one of those points, which constitute a War just, to be found in this dreadful Insurrection and Massacre. Wherefore as to those, who are so impenitent and remorseless as not to allow it to have been, what it has been proved, a *Rebellion*; I will only desire of them, because they pretend to be the greatest if not only Kings-men, not to contradict two of their and our most gracious Kings. And here not to speak of several Proclamations and Statutes made by the Authority of King *Charles* the First of ever blessed memory,

memory, in which this War, as these Gentlemen would style it, is expressly called a Rebellion, (with some aggravating Epithets) and its Authors Rebels (not to speak I say of these, * because some may say a Fanatick Parliament pen'd them) what will they say of that (now blessed) Kings dying Penitentials? Did he in them utter any thing, but the sincere conceptions of his holy Soul? Let then any one peruse Chap. 12. of his Ἐκκλ. βασιλική, and see if he speaks not there in the express terms we use. Nay, let any one look upon the Statute for the observing of this Day made in the Reign of our late gracious Sovereign Charles the Second, which according to Order was even now read, see what terms are used there. (Now this being the Kings Law, must be taken to be the Kings Language.) See in the name of God; not to call *one another* names, but to give *our Sins* the true names in our Confessions and Penitentials for them before God. But I have dwelt long enough on this; I will only add, that I am my self far from thinking, and would have others far from believing, that all the *Irish* Nation are people of such an Humour, as those whose Cruelty we give God thanks we were delivered

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livered from; or as those others, who will not allow this Days-work to have been Cruelty and Rebellion. There are undoubtedly a multitude of them harmless people, and many others generous; good-natured, loyal, and brave-spirited persons. And if after all there be any of a contrary strain, whom what hath been said will not convince of their Sin, I only pray the Lord have mercy on them.—
To proceed.

Secondly. From the whole Tenour of this Discourse appears, *the utter unlawfulness of Subjects resisting the Prince or Magistrate*, whom God has set over them; yea, though it be in the Abuse of his Power. If in such case our Lord Jesus had resisted, Mankind had never been Redeemed. Yet had it been most easie for him, had it been consistent with the Laws, which he was to enact, to have baffled all the Violence, with which he was, or could be assaulted. For though he had but twelve Apostles even at first, and of them only one that dared to fight for him, yet *could not I, saith he, have asked of my Father, and he would have given me more than twelve Legions of Angels?* But this would neither have stood
with

of the Sword. 37

with his Sufferings, nor with the other Ends of his coming, the Doctrine and Example of most holy Life, which he was to leave unto the World. And therefore, as, in the *Text*, he most expressly delivers the *Doctrine of Non-resistance* (*Put up thy Sword into its Sheath,*) so in the whole *Context* he practiseth it: Wherefore none can esteem themselves Followers, either of Christs Doctrine, or Example, that is, none can esteem themselves *Christians*, who shall in the hardest circumstances they can be put, resist their Prince or those that are sent by him.

Thirdly, Upon consideration of what has been said, let us be moved, to put a due value both upon our own and others Lives: Let us not, at least, so vainly and trivially expose them, as in every mad and rash fit we are apt to do. I will not speak at present of those manifold indirect ways of Murder, that are in the world: When men do any unlawful or unwarrantable act to themselves or others, by which, though not intentionally, the untimely End of either ensue (as drinking themselves or others into mortal Favours, Frenzies, and a hundred

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dred like acts, this is Murther before God, though indirect indeed, and only by consequence, yet really and truly such. My *Text* confines me more to the *Sword-work*. And give me leave here a little to insist expressly against that abominable and most unreasonable, but frequent practice of *Dueling*. I beseech and conjure all men to consider, neither the *Old Law of God* nor the *Gospel* make any difference betwixt *Murder*, and what our Common Law calls *Man-slaught'ner*. To attempt or design taking away the Life of any, though in never so violent and transient a Passion, is by Gods Law and by the Gospel, Murder. And *no Murderer shall enter into the Kingdome of Heaven*; that is, most surely none, who dyes impenitently such. Now 'tis seldome or never that any man dyes in a Duel, but there dyes one singly or doubly a Murderer and impenitent. For, though murdered, he dyes a Murderer, at least of himself, because he had no right to take the Sword; and, according as before-said, by his taking it unwarrantably, has brought his own Death upon himself.

Further,

Farther, 'tis of all Duellists generally sure enough, neither but would have sped the other; the person slain would as truly have sped his Adversary, as his Adversary has sped him, could he have done it. Wherefore in Will and Intention he that falls is a Murderer of the Survivor, that is, doubly a Murderer; and in both cases too commonly impatient, as dying before he comes to Temper sedate enough for Repentance. So that, I say, for the most part, such persons die doubly Murderers, and impatient; and then, Good God! what is their estate! Consider this in the name of God, all ye that are so wickedly prodigal of your own and others both Bloud and Souls. On what Trifles and ridiculous Punctilio's do you generally venture both? For when was there almost any private *Duel* heard of, the *Occasion* whereof was such a *wrong*, as the *Law* assigns a *man Satisfaction* for? This is the general Resolution in these cases ——— *I can have no Satisfaction by Law, therefore I'll fight him.* Now let us but attend how *unreasonable this Resolution is*: It amounts plainly to thus much, the Affront or (pretended) Injury I have received,

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ceived, is so small, that the Law takes no notice of it: therefore I'll exact the greatest Satisfaction by or against any Law, in any other case, imaginable; for greater cannot be given by Man than the mans own Life. [Nay perhaps, what I design, as a Satisfaction, may be the *greatest wrong to my self*, the loss of Body and Soul, I may dye by it in my Sin. Now is this reasonable; such an one has done me *a small wrong*, (perhaps none, perhaps has only *cross'd* me in my *humour*, possibly too only in my *Vices*;) but admit he has done me a small wrong, what then? Why, then I will *compel him to do me a greater*, namely, to kill me in his own defence. Nay, therefore will I *do my self the greatest*, I will venture both Body and Soul in a most unchristian and unreasonable Revenge. For being in this case, I take the Sword of my own rash will, without any Warrant from God or Man, nay against the Laws of both, may I not expect actually to perish by the Sword? And because I presumptuously, and *with an high hand*, rush on such vile sins, to *dye impatiently* too, and forsaken by Gods Grace; which if I do, how eternally deplorable,

but

but utterly irremediable, is my Condition?] Oh! that men would but consider these things, and value their own Lives, only as God has valued them! At least, that they would but keep those Laws, which he has made to preserve and secure them! If but this could be obtained, not one in an hundred of those who do, would dye untimely or unnatural Deaths.

Lastly. In case for our Sins God should so punish this Nation, that we should live to see the *Sword of War drawn again*, let us remember we have been this day taught our *Duty in such times*. Let us all, that are able or qualified, to take the Sword, take it at his Hands, and in his Defence, who has received the Sword from God; our King's I mean. Let us all stick to the Crown, in its true and legal Descent. This is the only way to keep good Conscience, and the likeliest way to secure or retrieve Peace. For if Pretenders find few or no Abettors, if the great Body of the Nation take the side, which all good men will take; namely, as said, that of the Royal Authority, all *Civil Wars* must quickly be at an end; and others, I think and hope, we need not fear.

But

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But God keep far from us all Attempts of any War. And I know no better Preservative from any, than that all would remember what our Saviour in teaching St. Peter here, has taught us all, *They that take the Sword, shall perish by the Sword.*

The good Lord give Peace
in our days, and to the
God of Peace be all Honour and Glory now
and for ever. *Amen.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PReface pag. 3. line 13. read *Translation*, p. 8. l. 1. r. *at all*. Sermon. 1. p. 10. l. 14. r. *the Frame*, p. 24. l. 4. r. *but he*, p. 26. l. 21. blot out of *the God*. p. 28. l. 7. r. *of the most*, p. 30. l. 11. r. *as for*. Sermon. 2. in the Advertisement, l. 11. r. 16. *How*, [indeed the line at 16. should have been broken off,] p. 3. margin r. *Theophylact*. p. 7. l. 16. r. *indefeasible*, p. 12. l. 23. r. *may please*, p. 13. l. penult. r. *Idolatra*, p. 16. l. 19. r. *This is*, *ibid.* l. 21. r. *God. Who*, p. 19. l. 16. for *more* r. *move*, p. 22. l. 21. r. *fatal*. p. 27. l. ult. r. *impassible*, p. 29. l. 25. r. *or upon charity*. Sermon. 4. p. 3. l. 25. r. *fickle*. p. 21. l. 6. r. *account of*. p. 23. l. 23. r. *Casistical*, p. 24. l. 15. r. *Guilty*. p. 30. l. 17. r. *in my*, Sermon. 6. p. 4. l. 16. r. *on what*, p. 13. l. 16. r. *expiring their souls*, *may*. p. 19. l. 11. r. *Death*.